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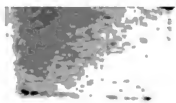
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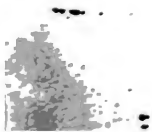
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THE HISTORY

OF

THE ENGLISH BIBLE:

FROM THE FIRST

TO THE LATEST SAXON TRANSLATIONS

OF THE SCRIPTURES

BY ANGLICAN AND ANGLICAN-AMERICAN

PRELATES AND DIVINES

AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION  
ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

BY

CHARLES DODD

J. S. BARNES & COMPANY

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1882



THE HISTORY  
OF  
THE ENGLISH BIBLE:

EXTENDING FROM THE  
EARLIEST SAXON TRANSLATIONS

TO THE PRESENT  
ANGLO-AMERICAN REVISION;

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PROTESTANT RELIGION  
AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

BY  
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A. S. BARNES & COMPANY,  
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To

My Mother

Whose Interest in the Progress of these Pages  
has been scarcely less than my own

This Volume is Affectionately  
Inscribed.





## PREFACE.

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THE following chapters had their origin in the desire to trace the influence of the Bible upon the English language. Dr. Noah Webster, in the preface to his "Amended Bible," 1838, says: "The language of the Bible has no inconsiderable influence in forming and preserving our National language." A slight acquaintance with the subject showed that this influence could not be understood without tracing back the history to the earliest Saxon and English translations. All praise is due to King James' revisers for their wisdom in approving as well as improving the labors of previous translators. Their design was not to make a new translation "nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principal good one." Our English Bible of to-day, therefore, comprises in itself the labors of the best scholars during a period of two and a half centuries, together with a corresponding growth of the English language.

In the Louvre gallery at Paris the history of painting is illustrated by grouping the pictures on the walls in chronological order. Something of this plan may be found in the

following pages by way of illustrating the history of the English language. Specimens of the various Saxon and English versions of the Scriptures have been inserted in chronological order, and in their original spelling. All quotations from early English authorities are given literally as to wording and orthography, and in each case, so far as practicable, preference has been given to the earliest editions.

Another agreeable surprise in this investigation, was the important part the Anglo-Saxon language has played in the struggle between Protestantism and Romanism, before as well as since the Norman Conquest. The ascendancy of the Latin tongue meant practically the ascendancy of Rome not only in language and literature, but in religion and politics. It was the struggle of a David with a Goliath. And the victory was all the more remarkable because incidental. At the first the Reformers did not perceive the intimate relation between language and religion. Hopeless ignorance of the Latin on the part of the people was reason enough for translating the Scriptures into English. But afterward they learned that the Latin language was the stronghold of the Romish Church. The Latin tongue was imperial by birth, and seemed destined through its connection with victorious Rome to become the universal language. It was stately and magnificent, and in its movement it had something of the pomp and pride of a victorious Roman legion. Possibly it may be too much to affirm that the Latin, into which the Bible had for very many years been translated, exerted a powerful influence in Romanizing the Christian Church, since so little is known of the inner workings of that sad history. But we are safe in stating that leading bishops in the very beginning as well as in

the after development of the Roman Catholic Church, found the Latin language adapted to their ambitious purposes. Consequently when in after years their deep-laid plans were endangered by Vernacular versions of the Holy Scriptures, they erected their Latin barriers around both Bible and Church, and pronounced it heresy to translate or read the Bible save in the Latin tongue now chosen and ordained to be the sacred language of the Church. Pagan Rome failed in carrying out her ideal of Universal Empire, but Papal Rome, clothed with the same imperial language and inspired with the same imperial ideal, hoped to succeed. She still has faith in her destiny notwithstanding serious checks upon her power. The first of these checks was in the domain of language through Vernacular Versions of the Bible, which marks the rise and progress of Protestantism in its struggle with Romanism.

Intimately connected with the religious stands the literary element in this conflict of languages. At the period of the Norman Conquest the Saxon tongue had a hard struggle for mere existence. It was driven from the court and palace, but it took refuge around the firesides of the peasantry. The Latin tongue even down to the Elizabethan age was the literary language. But during this same period the English language had become a power, and by its inherent vitality was already the giant that succeeding centuries have proved it to be. And prominent among the causes which lie at the foundation of this victory of the English over the Latin tongue we must recognize the fact of early translations of the Scriptures into the language of the people. The design of the following chapters was not to treat this subject at large,

but in giving an account of the several translations to note incidentally the literary influence of these versions.

In order to bring down the history of English translations to the present time, an extended account will be found in the following pages, of various public and private attempts towards translations and revisions since that of King James' Bible, 1611. The great majority of these efforts were by private individuals and consequently of no special importance. There were other attempts made by public authority, and hence of greater significance. By far the most important of these, is the Anglo-American revision undertaken by the authority of the Convocation of Canterbury and with the express design of superseding King James' version. Whether it will accomplish this design must remain, for the present at least, an open question. It must be confessed, however, that in the history of English translations no version ever attracted so wide-spread expectation. And then it carries with it the recommendation of the most profound English and American scholarship—a scholarship in every way competent to deal with original authorities and to make the best use of all critical helps. While this is true of the New Testament revisers whose labors have just closed, it is equally true of the Old Testament revisers whose labors will not be completed for some three years to come.

At the expense of burdening the page with foot-notes, care has been taken to give credit to all authorities quoted—an honest though laborious mode of acknowledging indebtedness. The historic field of English Bible translations has been sadly neglected by Church historians. Fox, the martyrologist, is

an honorable exception. The early Black Letter editions of his "Acts and Monuments," are mines of wealth in the rich mass of facts he has brought together including original documents bearing upon the external history of the English Bible. Rev. John Lewis was the original pioneer in this special field ; and in every bibliographical list, chronologically, his work must stand first. Lewis' "History of English Translations of the Bible" was first published as an introduction to Wycliffe's "Translation of the New Testament," 1731. The work was issued separately in 1739. He crowded so much into so small a space, to the general reader his account seems heavy ; but to the searcher for facts his work, though not reliable in every particular, is most invaluable. Anderson's "Annals of the Bible" have been severely criticised, and yet they render most acceptable service in honoring the memory of the ever-memorable William Tyndale. The work was first published in 1845, in two octavo volumes. The earliest editions were burdened with extended sketches of the civil history of the times, which interfered seriously with the simple narrative. These sketches were afterwards omitted in the revised edition put forth by his nephew in 1862. "A General View of the History of the English Bible," by Canon Westcott, published in 1868 and 1872, together with the two noble volumes by Dr. Eadie, entitled, "The English Bible; an External and Critical History of the Various English Translations of the Scriptures," 1876, leave scarcely anything to be desired in the way of an extensive and critical account of English translations of the Holy Scriptures.

My thanks are hereby extended to the Librarians of the following Libraries—Boston Public, Boston Athenæum, Har-

vard College, Watkinson, Wabash College, and Lane Seminary, for special favors. My personal acknowledgments are also due to many friends for aid and encouragement, but to none more than to my friend and former teacher, Prof. George E. Day, D.D., of New Haven, Conn.

BLACKFORD CONDIT.

TERRE HAUTE, Nov., 1881.

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## CHAPTER XL

### REVISIONS AND TRANSLATIONS SINCE A. D. 1611.

DEMAND FOR A REVISION OF KING JAMES' BIBLE.—EARLY ATTEMPTS.—PROPOSALS BY HENRY JESSEY AND PROF. ROWE, 1650-55.—RESOLUTIONS IN THE LONG PARLIAMENT, 1653-58.—ERA OF THE RESTORATION.—ITS UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES.—KING JAMES' BIBLE FIRMLY ESTABLISHED.—"TIDE OF GLOWING PANEGYRIC."—INFLUENCE, LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS, OF KING JAMES' BIBLE.—MACE'S VERSION OF THE N. T.—"A DOUGHTY TRANSLATION."—PURYER'S TRANSLATION, 1764.—UNDERTAKEN FOR THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.—HARWOOD'S N. T., 1768.—ITS "ELEGANCE" IN LANGUAGE.—BLANEY'S EDITION OF THE BIBLE, 1769.—A CORRECTED ENGLISH TEXT.—DR. LOWTH'S TRANSLATION OF ISAIAH, 1778.—DR. GEDDES' TRANSLATION OF PARTS OF THE O. T., 1780-97.—DR. GEORGE CAMPBELL'S FOUR GOSPELS, 1789.—WAKEFIELD'S TRANSLATION OF N. T., 1791.—UNITARIAN.—DR. NEWCOME'S N. T., 1796.—SCARLETT'S VERSION, 1798.—FAVORS THE DOCTRINE OF UNIVERSALISM.—MCREA'S REVISION OF THE BIBLE, 1799.—IMPROVED VERSION OF THE N. T., 1808.—UNITARIAN.—BELLAMY'S NEW TRANSLATION, 1818-1821.—ALEXANDER CAMPBELL'S VERSION OF N. T., 1820.—NOAH WEBSTER'S "AMENDED BIBLE," 1833.—RODOLPHUS DICKINSON'S "ELEGANT TRANSLATION" OF THE N. T., 1833.—ITS FASHIONABLE LANGUAGE.—ALEXANDER'S REVISION OF THE PENTATEUCH, 1833.—INDELICATE WORDS AND PHRASES CORRECTED.—AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY REVISION, 1851.—A STANDARD COPY ADOPTED.—PUBLIC DISSATISFACTION.—STANDARD REVOKED, 1853.—EXAMPLES OF CHANGES PROPOSED.—CRITICAL REVISION OF THE GOSPEL OF JOHN, ETC., BY FIVE CLERGYMEN, 1857.—SAWYER'S N. T., 1858.—AMERICAN BIBLE UNION REVISION, 1850-1860.—REVISION BY CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY.—BEGUN IN 1870.—ENGLISH OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT COMPANIES.—RULES ADOPTED.—SCHOLARSHIP AND CATHOLICITY OF THE ENGLISH REVISERS.—FORMATION OF AMERICAN COMPANIES, 1871.—CONSTITUTION ADOPTED.—CHANGES IN AMERICAN COMPANIES.—PROGRESS OF THE WORK.—THE REVISION INTERNATIONAL AND INTERDENOMINATIONAL.—THE UNANSWERABLE QUESTION.—PUBLICATION AND RECEPTION OF THE REVISED VERSION.—TITLE-PAGE AND PREFATORY MATTER.—TREATMENT OF DEBATABLE PASSAGES.—CORRECT TREATMENT OF GREEK TENSES.—IMPROVEMENTS FROM AN AMENDED GREEK TEXT.—TRANSLATION OF GREEK ARTICLES AND PREPOSITIONS.—IMPROVEMENTS FROM DISPLACING OBSOLETE WORDS.—LANGUAGE OF THE REVISED VERSION.—NEW WORDS INTRODUCED.—THE AMERICAN APPENDIX . . . . .	329
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## CHAPTER I.

### SAXON AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES, BEFORE THE TIME OF WYCLIFFE. A. D. 597-1324.

CHRISTIANITY was first introduced among the Anglo-Saxons by Roman missionaries in the year 597.<sup>1</sup> These "strangers from Rome" landed on the island of Thanet. They immediately sent word to King Ethelbert that they came to declare the glad tidings of the Gospel. The king, through his Christian wife, Bertha, and Bishop Luidhard, the precursor of Augustine, had heard of the Gospel, yet, being suspicious of strangers, he met them in the open air, lest they should impose upon him by their magic. At his bidding, they approached in an orderly procession, bearing a silver cross, also an image of the Saviour painted on a board, and singing the litany. After listening to the address of Augustine, the king answered: "Your words and promises are very fair, but as they are new to us, and of uncertain import, I cannot approve of them so far as to forsake that which I have so long followed with the whole English nation. But because you are come from far into my kingdom, and, as I conceive, are desirous to impart to us those things which you believe to be true, and most beneficial, we will not molest you, but give you favorable entertainment, and take care to supply you with

<sup>1</sup> The date of the first introduction of Christianity into Britain is quite another question. The general impression prevails that it was planted as early as the first century. But Thomas Wright, in his *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, asserts that Christianity could not have been established at so early a period, since "among such an immense number of altars and inscriptions of temples, and with so many hundreds of Roman sepulchres and graves as have been opened in this country, (England), we find not a single trace of the religion of the Gospel," p. 353.

your necessary sustenance; nor do we forbid you to preach and gain as many as you can to your religion.”<sup>1</sup>

Augustine brought with him a Latin Bible, in two volumes, which is said to have been extant in the time of James I.; a Psalter with the creed and several Latin hymns; two copies of the Gospels; another Psalter with hymns; a book of Legends of the Sufferings of the Apostles; another volume of Martyrology; an Exposition of the Gospels and Epistles; and Gregory’s Pastoral Care.<sup>2</sup> Bede, in enumerating a variety of articles sent by Pope Gregory to his missionaries in Britain, mentions: “many books.”<sup>3</sup> But, however well Augustine may have been furnished for his enterprise, and however fair may have been his promises, the Christianity planted by him and his followers among the Saxons, was a Latin Christianity. “It was a compound,” says Sharon Turner, “of doctrines, ritual, discipline, and polity, derived partly from the Scriptures, partly from tradition, partly from the decisions and orders of former councils and popes, and partly from popular customs and superstitions, which had been permitted to intermix themselves.”<sup>4</sup> It was a Christianity that, from the first, was marked by pious frauds and feigned miracles. It is related of Laurentius, the successor of Augustine, when he was about to quit Britain on account of the Saxons relapsing into idolatry, that “in the dead of night, the blessed Prince of the Apostles appeared to him, and scourging him a long time with apostolical severity, asked of him, ‘why he should forsake the flock which he had committed to him?’ . . . . . Laurentius, the servant of Christ, being excited by these words and stripes, the very next morning repaired to the king, and taking off his garment, showed the scars of the stripes which he had received. The king, astonished, asked, ‘Who had presumed to give such stripes to so great a man?’ And was

<sup>1</sup> Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 38, Bohn’s ed. Sharon Turner gives this in the original Saxon. See *Hist. Anglo-Saxons*, I., 330, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38, note. See also Turner, *Hist. A. S.*, I., 332, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, I., 331. London, 1823.



much frightened when he heard that the bishop had suffered so much at the hands of the Apostle of Christ for his salvation.”<sup>1</sup> This pious fraud was successful. King Eadbald was converted and baptized. He renounced his idolatry, and sought in every way to promote the interests of the Church.

But though it was a Latin Christianity introduced among the Anglo-Saxons, it was not the thoroughly Romanized Christianity of later times. There was as yet no claim by the papacy to infallibility; nor was there any prohibition on the part of either pope or council against the right of the people to have the Holy Scriptures in their own language. Not until the Council of Thoulouse, 1229, was there any such restraint, when it was shamefully enacted: “We forbid that Laymen be permitted to have the books of the Old and New Testaments; unless some out of Devotion desire to have the Psalter or Breviary for Divine Offices, and the Hours of the Blessed Virgin; but even these, they may not have in the Vulgar Tongue.”<sup>2</sup> The Roman hierarchy, up to the time of Innocent III., the beginning of the thirteenth century, entertained no serious designs against the Scriptures translated into the language of the people. “It is remarkable,” says Neander, “that Pope Innocent the Third was originally inclined rather to encourage than to suppress the reading of the Bible by the laity, till, influenced by the principles of the church theocracy, of which he was the representative, he was led, by the consequences growing out of that tendency, to contend against it.”<sup>3</sup> There was a lurking danger in Vernacular versions of the Scriptures which the hierarchy did not at first apprehend. But from the time of Innocent III. its Romish policy was settled. The enactment of the Council of Thoulouse shall henceforth be rigidly enforced. As yet, however, the Bible was regarded “as furnishing the best means of nourishment for the soul, and the surest remedy for all the disorders of the soul.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 79, Bohn's ed., London, 1871.

<sup>2</sup> Neander's *Church History*, IV., 324, note. Boston, 1853.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 322.



At this time even popes rejoiced that the Bible, by means of translations, found its way among the people. This was especially true of Gregory the Great, who was so zealous in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. "THE SCRIPTURES," said he, "are infinitely elevated above all other instructions; they instruct us in the truth; they call us to heaven; they change the heart of him who reads them. . . . The sweetness and condescension of the Holy Scriptures comfort the weak and imperfect; their obscurity exercises the strong. . . . They seem to expand and rise in proportion as those who read them rise and increase in knowledge. Understood by the most illiterate, they are always new to the most learned."<sup>1</sup> It was this same Gregory who compared the Scriptures "to a river, in some places so shallow, that a lamb might easily pass through them; in others so deep, that an elephant might be drowned in them."<sup>2</sup> To hearty eulogy, Gregory added exhortation to the reading and study of the Scriptures. To a physician he wrote: "Study, meditate, the words of your Creator, that from them you may learn what is in the heart of God towards you, and that your soul may be inflamed with the most ardent desires after celestial and eternal good."<sup>3</sup> Such sentiments, however, could not have been shared by his missionaries in Britain, otherwise they would have translated, at least, portions of the Bible into the Saxon language. But they depended more upon rites and ceremonies, than upon the Bible, for success in converting the Saxons.

But to understand the relation of Christianity to the unconverted Saxons, we must take into the account the influences brought to bear upon them by the Irish Church. Previous to the conquest of Britain by the Saxons, Christianity had been carried into Ireland, where it was received with enthusiasm. "The science and Biblical knowledge which fled from the Continent took refuge in famous schools which made Durrow and Armagh the universities of the West. . . . Patrick, the first

<sup>1</sup> Townley's *Biblical Literature*, I., 210, 211.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

missionary of the island, had not been half a century dead when Irish Christianity flung itself with a fiery zeal into battle with the mass of heathenism which was rolling in upon the Christian world.... For a time it seemed as if the course of the world's history was to be changed, as if the older Celtic race that Roman and German had swept before them had turned to the moral conquest of their conquerors, as if Celtic and not Latin Christianity was to mould the destinies of the Churches of the West."<sup>1</sup> In the year 565, Columba, a native of Ireland, founded the monastery of Iona, on an island of the same name,<sup>2</sup> off the west coast of Scotland. In this abbey Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, was educated; and through his influence Culdee missionaries were sent to preach among the Saxons. Bishop Aidan was the most noted of these missionaries. He founded the monastery of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, off the northeast coast of Northumbria, about the year 636. Aidan, according to Bede, was "a man of singular meekness, piety, and moderation." He was zealous in preaching the Gospel, and for this purpose traveled on foot from place to place. Even before he had learned the language, "it was most delightful," says Bede, "to see the king interpreting for him when he spake publicly to the people."

Besides Lindisfarne other monasteries were founded. Among these was Streaneshalch, afterwards called Whitby, founded by Abbess Hilda on the east coast of Deira. This monastery is celebrated as the place where the synod was held to decide the vexed questions of the tonsure,<sup>3</sup> and the time of Easter. Hitherto the monks of Lindisfarne, and other religious houses whose ecclesiastical relations were with Iona,

<sup>1</sup> Green's *Short History of the English People*, p. 58. New York, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> The ancient name was *Hi*, or *I*, or *Aoi*, which was Latinized into *Hyona*, or *Iona*. Compare Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 113, note. Bohn's edition.

<sup>3</sup> The Romans shaved the crown of the head and considered the circle of hair left as a figure of the crown of thorns worn by the Saviour. The Scots shaved only the front of the head in the form of a crescent. Compare Lingard's *History of England*, I., 100. Boston, 1853.

followed the usages of Iona rather than of Rome. The controversy ran high between the opposing parties, until Oswy, king of the Northumbrians, determined to call a council to meet at Whitby, to decide their differences. This council convened in 664. Bishop Colman, the successor of Aidan, supported the usages of Iona; while Abbot Wilfrith plead for the usages of Rome. The former appealed to the authority of Columba, the latter to that of St. Peter. In the course of the debate, Wilfrith quoted Matt. xvi. 18: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Upon which the king said: "Is it true, Colman, that these words were spoken to Peter by our Lord?" He answered: "It is true, O King!" Then says he, "Can you show any such power given to your Columba?" Coleman answered, "None." Then added the king: "Do you both agree that these words were principally directed to Peter, and that the keys of heaven were given to him by our Lord?" They both answered, "We do." This ended the discussion; the king and all present determined henceforth to conform to the authority and ritual of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

But previous to the meeting of this synod, there arose one whose name gave still greater notoriety to this monastery. It was none other than Cædmon, the cowherd of Whitby, whose name is honored in ancient literary annals, as the singer of the first great English song. So in tracing the history of Saxon versions of the Bible, the paraphrase of Cædmon stands chronologically at the head of the list. Bede's account of Cædmon partakes something of a monastic tinge, yet it is the original source of our information concerning him. Bede declares in substance that Cædmon belonged to the monastery of Whitby, then under the rule of Abbess Hilda, as a cowherd, whose business it was to look after the horses and cattle. He was no singer, and when at entertain-

<sup>1</sup> See this controversy fully treated of in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 153-160. Bohn's edition.

ments the harp, in turn, was passed to him, he would rise from the table and go home. On one such occasion, after retiring to rest in the stable where he had charge of the horses, "a person appeared to him in his sleep, and saluting him by his name, said, 'Cædmon, sing some song to me.' He answered, 'I cannot sing; for that was the reason I left the entertainment, and retired to this place, because I could not sing.' The other who talked to him, replied, 'However you shall sing.' 'What shall I sing?' rejoined he. 'Sing the beginning of created beings,' said the other. Hereupon he presently began to sing verses to the praise of God which he had never heard."<sup>1</sup> In the morning he informed the steward, his superior, of his dream, and of the gift he had received; whereupon he was conducted to the abbess, where, in the presence of learned men, he related his dream, together with the verses composed in his sleep. They immediately concluded "that heavenly grace had been conferred upon him by our Lord. They expounded to him a passage in holy writ, either historical or doctrinal, ordering him, if he could, to put the same in verse." Returning the next morning he gave it to them in most excellent verse. By the order of the abbess he was instructed "to quit the secular habit, and take upon him the monastic life."<sup>2</sup> They taught him the principal facts of the Old and New Testaments, which in turn he put into poetic phraseology. "He sang the creation of the world, the origin of man, and all the history of Genesis; and made many verses on the departure of the children of Israel out of Egypt, and their entering into the land of promise, with many other histories from holy writ; the incarnation, passion, resurrection of our Lord, and his ascension into heaven; the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the preaching of the apostles; also the terror of future judgment, . . . the pains of hell and the delights of heaven."<sup>3</sup> By which he sought to turn men from the love of vice to the love of virtue. He died in the year 680.

<sup>1</sup> Bede's *Ec. Hist.*, p. 217.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.

The metrical paraphrase of Cædmon though not to be ranked as a translation, holds an important place in the history of Anglo-Saxon versions, as being the first attempt to set forth any portion of the Scriptures in the Saxon tongue. The following fragment, preserved in Alfred's Saxon version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, is a paraphrase of the first verse of the first chapter of Genesis. A comparison with the translation will show that while the Saxon language of the seventh century is to us an unknown tongue, yet our present English is deeply embedded in its Saxon original. Sharon Turner pronounces this to be the most ancient piece of Anglo-Saxon poetry that we possess.<sup>1</sup>

Now we should praise	Nu we sceolan herigeaŋ
The Guardian of the heavenly	Heafon rices weard ;
kingdom ;	
The mighty Creator,	Metodes mihte,
And the thoughts of his mind,	And his mod gethanc,
Glorious Father of his works !	Weorc wuldor fæder !
As he, of every glory	Swa he wuldres gehwæs
Eternal Lord !	Ece drihten !
Established the beginning ;	Ord onstealde ;
So he first shaped	He ærest gescop
The earth for the children of	Eorþan bearnum
men,	
And the heav'ns for its canopy.	Heofon to rofe.
Holy Creator !	Halig scýppend !
The middle region,	Tha middan geard,
The Guardian of Mankind,	Mon cýnnes weard,
The eternal Lord,	Ece drihtne,
Afterwards made	Æfter teode
The ground for men.	Firum foldan ;
Almighty Ruler !	Frea Almitig !

Cædmon made no change in the form of Saxon verse. His style is the same as that of the old Saxon war song, which by its energy and force was suited to the spirit of Old Testament

<sup>1</sup> Turner's *History of Anglo-Saxons*, III., 260. Cædmon's poem was published by Junius in 1655 ; and by Benjamin Thorpe in 1832. In the above transcript the Saxon characters give place to Roman letters.

history. "The temper of Cædmon," says Green, "brings him near to the early fire and passion of the Hebrew, as the history of his time brought him near to the old Bible history with its fights and wanderings."<sup>1</sup>

The following extracts are from Sharon Turner, who refers them to the original Cædmon in opposition to Warton and others who would assign to them a much later date. In referring to this paraphrase Mr. Turner says: "It was printed by Junius as the work of the ancient Cædmon . . . . It treats on the first part of the subjects which Bede mentions to have been the topics of the elder Cædmon; but it is presumed by Hickes not to be so ancient as the poet mentioned by Bede. I confess that I am not satisfied that Hickes is right in referring it to any other author than the person to whom Junius ascribes it."<sup>2</sup> The following soliloquy of Satan illustrates the bold fancy of the poet, and not unfrequently reminds us of the grandeur so peculiar to Milton's descriptions:<sup>3</sup>

Why should I contend?  
I cannot have  
any creature for my superior!  
I may with my hands  
so many wonders work!  
and I must have great power  
to acquire a more godlike  
stool,  
higher in the heavens!  
Yet why should I  
sue for his grace?  
or bend to him  
with any obedience?  
I may be  
a god, as he is.  
Stand by me,

strong companions!  
who will not deceive me  
in this contention.  
Warriors of hardy mind!  
they have chosen me  
for their superior;  
illustrious soldiers!  
with such, indeed,  
one may take counsel!  
with such folk  
may seize a station!  
My earnest friends they are,  
faithful in the effusions of their  
mind.  
I may, as their leader,  
govern in this kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> For an estimate of Cædmon as a poet, see Green's *Short History of the English People*, p. 63. New York, 1877. Also Taine's *English Literature*, I., 48. New York, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Anglo Saxons*, III., 308. London, 1823.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 313, 314.

So I think it not right,  
nor need I  
flatter any one,  
as if to any gods

a god inferior.  
I will no longer  
remain his subject.  
. . . . .

After the defeat of Satan and his followers, the poet thus graphically describes their fall and abode in the lower regions:<sup>1</sup>

The fiend, with all his fol-  
lowers,  
fell then out of heaven ;  
during the space  
of three nights and days ;  
the angels from heaven  
into hell ; and them all  
the Lord turned into devils ;  
because that they  
his deed and word  
would not reverence.

. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
They suffer the punishment  
of their battle against their  
Ruler ;  
The fierce torrents of fire  
in the midst of hell :  
brands and broad flames ;  
so likewise bitter smoke,  
vapour and darkness.

One other extract will suffice, taken from another of Satan's speeches:<sup>2</sup>

Is this the narrow place,  
unlike, indeed, to the others  
which we before knew,  
high in heaven's kingdom,  
that my Master puts me in ?  
. . . . .  
He hath not done us right,  
that he hath filled us  
with fire to the bottom  
of this hot hell,  
and taken away heaven's king-  
dom.  
. . . . .  
This is to me the greatest sor-  
row,

that Adam shall,  
he that was made of earth,  
my strong like stool possess.  
He is to be thus happy,  
while we suffer punishment ;  
misery in this hell !  
Oh that I had free  
the power of my hands,  
and might for a time  
be out ;  
for one winter's space,  
I and my army !  
but iron bonds  
lay around me !  
knots of chains press me down !  
I am kingdomless !  
hell's fetters

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, III., p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 315.

hold me so hard,  
so fast encompass me!  
Here are mighty flames

above and beneath;  
I never saw  
A more hateful landscape.

Guthlac, the first Saxon anchoret at Croyland, flourished in the early part of the eighth century. He is reputed to have made an Anglo-Saxon version of the Latin Psalter. At least there is an ancient Psalter preserved in the British Museum among the Cotton MSS,<sup>1</sup> which is said to have "well-grounded pretensions" as being one of the books sent by Pope Gregory the Great to Augustine in Britain. The original text is Latin, and "is written in that thin, light hand which characterises MSS. penned in Italy."<sup>2</sup> This Psalter contains an interlinear Saxon translation, but by whom it was done remains a matter of doubt. And yet from its antiquity it is referred by common consent to Guthlac. Moreover, during the reign of Henry VIII. there was in the Croyland Abbey Library an ancient copy of the Psalter in Saxon, which was kept as a relic and called St. Guthlac's Psalter. John Lambert's testimony is, however, that this translation was made by a Saxon king and copied by Guthlac.<sup>3</sup> The twenty-second Psalm is here transcribed, with the characters peculiar to the Saxon changed to ordinary letters.<sup>4</sup>

- Ps. XXII.
1. dryht receth me & ne wiht me wonu bith
  2. in stowe leswe ther mec ge-steathelade ofer weter ge-reodnisse a-ledde mec
  3. sawle mine ge-cerde ge-laedde me ofer stige rehtwisnisse fore noman his
  4. weotud-lice & thæhe ic gonge in midle scuan deathes ne on-dredu ic yfel for-thon thu mid-me erth, gerd thin & cryc thin hie me froefrende werun
  5. thu gearwades in ge-sihthe minre biod with him tha swencath mec thu faettades in ele heafud min, & drync thinne in-drencende swithe frea-berht is

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Stevenson for the Surtees Society, 1843.

<sup>2</sup> Baber's *Preface to Wycliffe's N. T.*, p. lviii. London, 1810.

<sup>3</sup> See his answer to *Article 26*, in *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, p. 1273.

<sup>4</sup> *Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter.* By Rev. J. Stevens, Surtees Society. Boston Athenæum Library.



Ps. XXII. 6. & mil-heortniss thin efter-fylgeth mec allum degum  
lifes mines thaet ic in-eardie in huse dryht' in lenger  
dega

Bishop Aldhelm was by birth a West Saxon, and was related to King Ina. In 675 he was made Abbot of Malmesbury. He composed both Latin and Saxon verse, and is described by Bede as one "most learned in all respects, for he had a clean style, and was, as I have said, wonderful for ecclesiastical and liberal erudition."<sup>1</sup> In his own day he was renowned as:

The man skilled in books;  
The good author  
Aldhelm, the noble poet,  
He was also  
In the country of the Anglo-Saxons,  
A bishop in Britain.<sup>2</sup>

Besides his notable tract on the Praise of Virginitv, Aldhelm composed a number of songs in which passages of Scripture were "ingeniously interspersed"; and being skilled in music, he sang them standing on a bridge, surrounded by crowds of people. He afterwards became Bishop of Sherborne, and about the year 706 translated the Psalter into Saxon. By some this version is thought to have been lost during the incursions of the Danes; but by others, that a copy of it was found in the Royal Library at Paris, at the beginning of this century.<sup>3</sup> The following miracles were attributed to Aldhelm, which indicate the credulity of the age and also as well the reputed piety of the man. It is recorded that "a beam of wood was once lengthened by his prayers"; also that "the ruins of the church he built, though open to the skies, were never wet with rain during the worst weather"; also that "one of his garments, when at Rome, once raised itself high in the air, and was kept there a while, self-suspended"; and that "a child,

<sup>1</sup> *Ecclesiastical History*, pp 267, 268. Bohn's ed.

<sup>2</sup> Turner's *Hist. Anglo-Saxons*, III., 327. Transcribed from Wanley's *Catalogue*, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Thorpe. *Liber Psalmorum*, &c.

nine days old, at his command, once spake to clear the calumniated pope from the imputation of being its father."<sup>1</sup>

Aldhelm may be regarded as an illustration of the fact of Latin culture, at this period, on the character not only of individuals, but of the nation at large. He was a native Saxon, but educated as a Roman. As an author his genius remained Saxon, though his language was Latin. As a learned bishop, he appreciated the art and culture of Rome, yet he did not forget his Saxon simplicity and the love of his native tongue. Somewhat so Roman civilization touched upon the Saxon people. The Saxons, when they first invaded Britain, despised the Latin culture of the Britons; but afterwards they were influenced both by their manners and speech. "I believe, indeed," says Mr. Wright, "that when the Angles and Saxons came into Britain, they found the people talking not a Celtic dialect, but Latin, and hence when they formed the English language, the foreign words introduced into it were not Celtic but Latin."<sup>2</sup> A very small class of words are thought to have been introduced at this early period, though Celtic Latin, into Saxon English. As examples we have *cester*, a common ending of the names of English towns, describing them as fortified, from the Latin *castrum*, a fortified camp. The word *coln*, is another common ending of the names of towns, describing them as originally settled by a colony. This is doubtless derived from the Latin *colonia*.<sup>3</sup> Again, in this coming of Augustine, Anglo-Saxon genius resists Roman influences. Ecclesiastically, there is introduced the form of worship with its language and art culture, and Saxon character is influenced; but the effect is only external. Had it been otherwise, it is probable that the descendants of the Saxons to-day would have been Latin, both in their religion and language.

<sup>1</sup> Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, III., 376.

<sup>2</sup> Wright's (*Thos.*) *The Celt, The Roman and The Saxon*, p. 460. London, 1875.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Marsh's (*G. P.*) *English Language and Literature*, p. 60. New York, 1860.

It is claimed that the Venerable Bede, who lived in the early part of the eighth century, translated the whole Bible into English. "For if worldli clerkis," says the author of the prologue to the Wycliffe Bible, "loken wel here (their) croniclis and bokis, thei shulden fynde, that Bede translatide the bible, and expounide myche in Saxon, that was English."<sup>1</sup> Lewis, in quoting Foxe's dedication of his work to the Queen, says: "that our countryman Bede did translate the whole Bible in the Saxon tongue a little before his departure." But the probabilities are that Bede's translations were confined to the Lord's Prayer, select passages from several books of the Bible, and the Gospel of John.<sup>2</sup> The last is justly regarded as the earliest effort to translate the Bible into Saxon. This work of Bede, with his other literary labors, were accomplished at the monastery of Jarrow. "The region in which this monastery was situated" (in the time of Bede), says Eadie, "was quiet, lone, and thinly peopled," . . . (but) "is now planted with a forest of furnaces, throwing out fire and smoke, and soiled with unsightly mounds of cinders and igneous refuse, while the din of heavy hammers is ever resounding, as great iron vessels are built in succession, by swart and busy myriads."<sup>3</sup> Hallam bestows merited praise, when he declares that "the Venerable Bede, as he was afterwards styled, early in the eighth century, surpasses every other name of our ancient literary annals; and, though little more than a diligent compiler from older writers, may perhaps be reckoned superior to any man whom the world . . . then possessed."<sup>4</sup> Bede's most celebrated work is his Ecclesiastical History. He was a great student of the Scriptures. He possessed some knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and employed much of his

<sup>1</sup> Forshall and Madden's edition, I., 59. Oxford, 1850. This *Prologue* dates back to the close of the fourteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Marshall's judgment is that Bede's *Translation of John's Gospel* is preserved in Parker's edition of the *Four Saxon Gospels*, published in 1571.

<sup>3</sup> *History of the English Bible*, I., 11. New York, 1874.

<sup>4</sup> *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, I., 29.

time in writing Biblical commentaries. In a letter to Egbert, Archbishop of York, he wrote: "Above all things avoid useless discourse and apply yourself to the Holy Scriptures, . . . appoint presbyters in each village, to instruct and administer the sacraments: and let them be studious that every one of them may learn, by heart, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer; and that, if they do not understand Latin, they may repeat them in their own tongue, I have translated them into English, for the benefit of ignorant presbyters."<sup>1</sup> Bede died on the 27th of May, 735, at the age of fifty-nine years, having spent his whole life in the same monastery. Though celebrated as a scholar, and warmly urged by the pope to visit Rome, it does not appear that he ever left England.

Such scholars as Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin, gave to England, at this period, a reputation throughout Europe as a seat of learning. Alcuin was a disciple of Bede, and was distinguished as a poet, scholar, and teacher. In 780 he was invited by the Emperor Charlemagne to his court, where, among other duties imposed upon him, was that of correcting the current Latin Bible, "which through the negligence and ignorance of transcribers had in many cases become wholly unintelligible."<sup>2</sup>

But even before the death of Alcuin, 806, learning in England began to fall into neglect. The incursion of the Danes in their barbarous warfare, rolled back the tide of civilization three and a half centuries. In their first invasion they ravaged the country with fire and sword, sparing neither sex nor age, leaving nothing in their savage war-path but famine and distress. And when, in years after, they came to conquer that they might occupy the country, their barbarities were, if possible, more cruel. "From this period," says Turner, "language cannot describe their devastations. It can only repeat the words plunder, murder, rape, famine and distress. It can only enumerate towns, villages, churches and

<sup>1</sup> Milner's *Church History*, p. 432. Edinburgh, 1842.

<sup>2</sup> Neander's *Church History*, III, 155. Boston, 1854.

monasteries, harvests and libraries, ransacked and burnt.”<sup>1</sup> The following sad picture of the times was drawn by a contemporary Saxon bishop: “We perpetually pay them (the Danes) tribute, and they ravage us daily. They ravage, burn, spoil and plunder, and carry off our property to their ships. .... Very often they seize the wives and daughters of our thanes and cruelly violate them before the great chieftain’s face. .... Soldiers, famine, flames and effusion of blood abound on every side. .... The poor men are sorely seduced and cruelly betrayed, .... are sold far out of this land to foreign slavery. .... The right of freedom is taken away; the rights of the servile are narrowed, and the right of charity is diminished.”<sup>2</sup> This terrible state of affairs continued for over three-fourths of a century, till King Alfred came to the throne; who for months after his accession was compelled to contend with the invading Danes. But singularly enough, “when the wild burst of the storm was over, land, people, government reappeared unchanged, .... the Danes sank quickly into the mass of those around them. .... Nowhere over Europe was the fight so fierce, because nowhere else were the combatants men of one blood and one speech. But just for this reason the fusion of the Northmen with their foes was nowhere so peaceful and so complete.”<sup>3</sup>

With the accession of Alfred, in the year 871, light again breaks upon the page of English history. King Alfred is justly celebrated as a statesman, warrior, scholar and Christian man. He had a care for the intellectual and religious as well as for the political interests of his people. It has been claimed that Alfred translated the whole Bible into the vernacular of the people. But a serious objection to this is, that no manuscript of any such translation is extant. As has been suggested, “the selections which he made for his own use appear to have

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, I., 505.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, II., pp. 321, 322, note.

<sup>3</sup> Green’s *Short History of English People*, p. 78. New York, 1877.

been confounded with a general translation."<sup>1</sup> The probable extent of Alfred's translations are selections from different books of the Bible, particularly the Psalms. Very early testimony in respect to this, is found in the prologue to Wycliffe's Bible, which was written about the year 1380. It reads: "King Alured that foundide Oxenford, translatide in hise laste daies the bigynning of the Sauter into Saxon, and wolde more if he hadde lyued lengere."<sup>2</sup> He translated the Ten Commandments and placed them at the head of the laws of his kingdom. The following is transcribed from Wilkins' *Leges Saxonica*,<sup>3</sup> as a specimen of Alfred's work and the language of his time. The Saxon characters are changed to Roman to make the text more intelligible.

Ex. XX. 1. Drihten wæs sprecende thæs word to Moýse, & thus cwæth; Ic eam Drihten thin God. Ic the ut gælædde of Ægypta londe, & of heora theowdome; Ne lufa thu othre fremde godas ofer me:

2. Ne minne naman ne cig thu on idelnesse, forthon the thu ne bist unscýldig with me, Yif thu on idelnesse cigst minne naman.

3. Gemine th thu gehalgie thone reste dæg; wýrceath eow sýx dagas, & non tham seofothan restath eow, thu & thinsunu, & thine dohter, & thin theowe, & thine wýlne, & thin weorcnyten, & se cuma the bith binnan thinan durum; Fortham on sýx dagum Cryst geworhte heofenas, & eorþan; sæs, & ealle gesceafta the on him sýnd, & hine gereste on thone seofothan dæge; & forthon Drihten hine gehalgode:

4. Ara thinum fæder and thinre meder tha the Drihten sealde the, th thu sý thy leng libbende on eorþan:

5. Ne slea thu:

6. Ne stala thu:

7. Ne lige thu dearnunga:

8. Ne sæge thu lease gewitnesse with thinum nehstan:

9. Ne wilna thu thines nehstan ýrfes with unrhte:

10. Ne wýrc thu the gyldene godas oththe seolfrene.

<sup>1</sup> Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, II., 96.

<sup>2</sup> Forshall and Madden's edition, I., 59. Oxford, 1850.

<sup>3</sup> From a copy in the Watkinson Library, Hartford, Conn. London, 1781.

The following is a word for word translation of the above:

Ex. XX. 1. Lord was speaking this word to Moses, and thus saith; I am Lord thy God. I thee out led of Egypt land, and of their thralldom: Not love thou other strange gods beside me:

2. Not my name not utter thou in vain, for that thou not art guiltless with me, if thou in vain utterest my name.

3. Be mindful that thou hallowest the rest day, work ye six days; and on the seventh rest ye, thou and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man servant, and thy maid servant, and thy cattle, and (those) who come who shall be within thy gate. For in six days Christ created heavens, and earth, seas, and all creatures that in them are, and him rested on the seventh day. And therefore God him (it) hallowed.

4. Honor thy father and thy mother whom the Lord hast given thee, that thou may be therefore long living on earth.

5. Not kill thou.

6. Not steal thou.

7. Not commit thou adultery.

8. Not say thou false witness against thy neighbor.

9. Not desire thou thy neighbor's inheritance with unrighteousness.

10. Not make thou the golden gods or silver (gods).

The language of Alfred's time was the old Saxon. When in the guise of a minstrel he entered the Danish camp his language did not betray him.<sup>1</sup> As a literary and spoken language the Saxon, at this period, attained its highest perfection. Its literature comprised works in poetry, history and science, either in original works or in translations.<sup>2</sup> The Franks and the Normans, though they became conquerors and lords of the soil, lost their language and nationality, but the Saxons retained both of these as did no other Teutonic race.

There is so much confusion as to the dates of Saxon manuscripts, that it is difficult to determine how early Bible truth was disseminated in Vernacular versions among the

<sup>1</sup> Though this story may be nothing more than a pleasant legend as some suppose, all that is claimed in the above reference is verisimilitude.

<sup>2</sup> Schlegel's *History of Literature*, p. 168. Bohn's edition, 1873.

people. But from the fact that learning was confined to the few, even in the days of Aldhelm and Bede, there could have been but little demand for Saxon versions of the Bible—a demand which would almost confine itself to such presbyters as were ignorant of the Latin language. The Anglo-Saxon versions of the Four Gospels may be referred to the age of Alfred; though the manuscripts differ widely in their probable dates, ranging as they do all the way from the time of Bede to that of the Norman Conquest. The earliest of these versions<sup>1</sup> have been published several times; first, under the superintendence of Archbishop Parker, by Foxe the martyr-ologist, in 1571. They were printed in Saxon type, and accompanied by the English version of the Bishop's Bible. On account of the inaccuracies both in the transcribing and printing of this volume, it was revised and republished by Junius in connection with Dr. Marshall in 1638-1665. These Four Gospels were again published by Benjamin Thorpe in 1842; by Bosworth in 1865; and more recently by Skeat.

These Saxon Gospels were originally translated from the Latin, either of the Old Italic, or of the Vulgate. In the work of translation they found many words in the Latin, for which the Saxon had no equivalent; but instead of adopting the Latin words, so jealous were the translators for their native speech, that they coined new words, for their translation. In referring to the purity in language of these Saxon Gospels, Marsh says that while our common Bible is comparatively free from Latinisms yet it adopted a large number of Latin words, whereas the Anglo-Saxon employed instead native words framed for this special purpose. "Thus for *prophet*, we have *witega*, a wise or knowing man; for *scribe*, *bocere*, book-man; for *sepulchre*, *byrgen*, whence our word *bury*, and the word *barrow* in the sense of funeral-mound;

<sup>1</sup> Six of these original manuscripts are still in existence. One of the earliest is preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; the others among the Cotton MSS., British Museum.



for *centurion*, hundred-man; . . . for *baptize*, fullian; for *synagogue*, gesomnung, congregation; for *resurrection*, ærist, uprising; for *disciple*, leorningcniht, learning-youth; . . . for *treasure*, gold-hord; for *pharisee*, sunderhalga, over-holy.”<sup>1</sup> As a specimen of the translation of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels the Lord’s prayer is here transcribed.<sup>2</sup>

Matt. VI. 9. . . . Fæder úre thu the eart on heofonum, si thin nama gehálgod :

10. To-becume thin rice; gewurthe thin willa on eorþan swá swá on heofonum :

11. Úrne dæghwamlican hláf syle us to-dæg :

12. And forgyf us úre gyltas, swá swá we forgyfath úrum gyltendum :

13. And ne gelæd thú us on costnunge ac ályf us of yfle . . . . . Sóthlice.

x To this period belongs also another Saxon version of the Gospels known as the Durham Book, St. Cuthbert’s Gospels, or Lindisfarne Gospels. The original Latin manuscript dates about the year 680. The text is in a good state of preservation. It is written in a round Roman letter, and is the work of Eadfrid, a monk of Lindisfarne, and after the Latin version of Jerome. This volume was highly ornamented with gold and precious stones, and decorated with illuminations of most elaborate workmanship. The book was first deposited in the church of Lindisfarne, but when the monastery was ravaged by the Danes, 793, it is said that the monks, in making their escape with it, let it fall into the sea in their passage to the main land. The book was recovered and placed in the monastery of Chester, where it remained for two hundred years, when it was transferred to the monastery of Durham. Here the monks, on account of its recovery from the sea, pretended that it possessed miraculous powers, and thus imposed upon the ignorance and credulity

<sup>1</sup> *Lectures on English Language*, p. 199. New York and London, 1860.

<sup>2</sup> *Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels*. By Rev. Joseph Bosworth, Vol. I. London, 1865. From a copy in the Boston Athenæum Library.

of the people, deriving therefrom a considerable revenue for the monastery. The ornaments that remain are, "pictures of the Evangelists, prefixed to their respective Gospels; many capital letters beautifully illuminated; and four tessellated tablets, each most laboriously executed and containing a fanciful design of the cross painted with a rich variety of brilliant body colors."<sup>1</sup> This manuscript is regarded as the finest specimen of Saxon calligraphy and decoration extant.

But that which gives special interest to this Latin manuscript, is its interlinear Saxon translation made by Aldred, a priest. There is some difference of opinion as to the date of the translation. It is thought by some to belong to the earlier part of the eighth century; and by others to the middle of the tenth century. This confusion arises, in part, from the fact of there being more than one priest bearing the name of Aldred. The learned Wanley assigns the translation to the time of Alfred. The original manuscript is still preserved among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum. The translation was written in red ink, which is now much faded. As a specimen of this translation the Lord's prayer is here inserted.<sup>2</sup>

Matt. VI. 9-13. Fader usær thu arth *or* thu bist in heofnū *or* in heofnas sie gehalgad noma thin; tocmeth ric thin; sie willo thin suæ is in heofne and in eortho; hlaf userne of' wistlic sel us todæg; & f'gef us scylda usra suæ woe f'gefon scyldgum usum; & ne inlæd usih in costunge ah gefrig usich from yfle.

Another celebrated Saxon version of the Gospels which dates back to the tenth century, and possibly to the age of Alfred, is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and is known as the Rushworth Gloss.<sup>3</sup> It contains the four Gospels in Latin written by an Irish scribe named Macreogol, in a

<sup>1</sup> Townley's *Biblical Literature*, I., 233. London, 1821.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Surtees Society, Vol. XXVIII., 1854. Watkinson Library, Hartford, Conn.

<sup>3</sup> So called from the fact that it belonged formerly to John Rushworth, Esq., and was presented by him to the Bodleian Library in the middle of the seventeenth century.

large hand similar to that of the Durham Book, with an interlinear Saxon translation. At the end of Matthew's Gospel is added: "Farmen Presbyter thas boc thus gleosode." Also at the close we find: "The min bruche gibidde fore Owun the thas boc gloesede Færmen thæm preoste æt Harawada." That is: "He that of mine profiteth bead (pray) he for Owen that this book glossed, and Farman the priest at Harewood."<sup>1</sup> From which we may conclude that this Saxon translation was the joint production of Farmen and Owen. After this there follows in Latin text: "Macregol delineated this gospel, whoever hath read and understood its recital, pray he for Macregol the writer." During the middle ages, when the multiplication of books depended upon copyists, these subscriptions were common. Besides a certain degree of meritoriousness was attached to the act of copying particularly the Holy Scriptures. In the way of correctness every thing depended upon the copyist, and hence authors were wont to express their anxiety, as did Ælfric when he wrote: "I pray now if any one will write this book, that he make it well from this example, because I would not yet bring into it any error through false writers. It will be then his fault, not mine. The un-writer doth much evil if he will not rectify his mistake."<sup>2</sup>

The ornaments of this volume of the Gospels consists in "delineations of the four Evangelists, and divers colored initial letters." The translation of Matthew is thought to have been an independent translation, while the other Gospels are supposed to be transcripts of the Durham Book. The Lord's prayer is here given as a specimen.<sup>3</sup>

Matt. VI. 9. Fæder ure thu the in heofunum earth beo gehalgad thin noma.

10. cume to thin rice weorthe thin willa swa swa on heofune swilce on eorthe,

<sup>1</sup> Baber's *Preface*. Wycliffe's *N. T.*, p. ix. London, 1810.

<sup>2</sup> Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, III., 400. London, 1823.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Surtees Society, Vol. XXVIII., 1854. Watkinson Library, Hartford, Conn.

Matt. VI. 11. hlaf userne *or* ure dæghwæmlicu *or* in stondenlice sel us todæge.

12. & forlet us ure scylde swa swa we ec forleten thæ the scyldigat with us.

13. & ne gelaet us gelaede in costongae ah gelese us of yflæ.

Ælfric was a Saxon abbot, who lived at the close of the tenth century. He was eminent for his piety, learning, and the abundance of his Biblical labors. He "Englished" a large portion of the Old Testament, and was the first to make accessible to Saxon readers the historical books of the Bible. The list of his translations includes the Pentateuch,<sup>1</sup> Joshua, Judges,<sup>2</sup> parts of the books of Kings, Esther, Job, Judith, and the whole of Maccabees. The chief sources of information respecting Ælfric, are his prefaces, dedications, and homilies. These last he composed and distributed among the priests to be read from their pulpits. Many of his translations were undertaken at the instigation of others; but he protests that he labored not for the gratification of kings and *ealdormen* alone, but "for the edification of the simple, who know only this (Saxon) speech;—'We have therefore put it not into obscure words, but into simple English, that it may easier reach the heart of those who read or hear it.'"<sup>3</sup>

The Saxon Church was episcopal in form but evangelical in spirit. It was even Puritan in its tendency, since King Alfred took the Bible as the foundation of his laws. The Bible was not only translated into "simple English," but the people were exhorted to read it. In other words the religious life of the Saxons was founded on a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. A single extract from one of Ælfric's homilies will show the high estimation put upon the truths of the Bible: "Whoever would be one with God," he wrote, "must often pray, and often read the Holy Scriptures."

<sup>1</sup> *Genesis* together with the other books are incomplete.

<sup>2</sup> The *Heptateuch* together with parts of *Job* and *Judith* were published in 1698, by Thwaites; and recently by Greiner in his *Library of Anglo-Saxon Prose*.

<sup>3</sup> Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, III., 471, note.

For when we pray, we speak to God; and when we read the Bible, God speaks to us. The reading of the Scriptures produces a two-fold advantage to the reader: It renders him wiser, by informing his mind; and also leads him from the vanities of the world to the love of God, .... Happy is he then, who reads the Scriptures, if he convert the words into actions. The whole of the Scriptures are written for our salvation, and by them we obtain a knowledge of the truth.”<sup>1</sup>

For the specimen of Ælfric’s translation given below, the reader is indebted to the kindness of F. J. Child, Professor of Anglo-Saxon in Harvard College, who by request transcribed it from Ælfric’s *Heptateuch*,<sup>2</sup> and at the same time changed the characters peculiarly Saxon into English letters.

Ex. XX. 1. God spræc thus :

2. Ic eom Drihten thin God. . . . .
4. Ne wirc thu the agraƿene Godas.
5. Ne ne wurtha. Ic wrece fædera unriht wisnysse on bearnum.
6. And ic do mildheortnysse tham the me lufiath, and mine bebodu healdath.
7. Ne nem thu Drihtnes naman on ýdel; ne býth unscýldig se the his naman on ýdel nemth.
8. Gehalga thone restedæg.
9. Wirc six dagas ealle thine weorc.
10. Se seofotha ys Drihtnes restedæg thines Godes; ne wirc thu nan weorc on tham dæge, ne nan thara the mid the beo.
11. On six dagon God geworhte heofenan and eorthan and sæ and ealle tha thing the on him sýnd, and reste thy seofothan dæge, and gehalgode býne.
12. Arwurtha fæder and modor.
13. Ne sleh thu.
14. Ne sýnga thu.
15. Ne stel thu.
16. Ne beo thu on liesre gewitnysse ongen thinne nehstan.

<sup>1</sup> Townley’s *Biblical Literature*, I., 341. London, 1821.

<sup>2</sup> From a copy in Harvard College Library, edited by Thwaites.

17. Ne wilna thu thines nehstan huses, ne thu his wives, ne his wýeles, ne his wýlne, ne his oxan, ne his assan, ne nan thara thinga the his sýnd.

With Ælfric closes the Saxon period of Bible versions. Critically these Saxon translations are not without their importance, since they were made from early Latin versions while yet in their comparative purity.<sup>1</sup> But as a matter of fact these ancient Saxon have no special relation to succeeding English versions. And this is traceable to the fact of the Norman Conquest, which proved a fearful epoch in the history of the language, in that it so wrought upon the Saxon that it soon became almost an unknown tongue. It is a singular fact in the history of the Anglo-Saxons, that while they resisted the influences of Rome, first through the person of the Early Britons, and afterwards through that of the Roman missionaries under Augustine, yet when Roman influences came through the Teutonic Normans, the Saxon in his language, religion, laws and manners, succumbed to the conquerors; and yet only for a season, for in the end the Saxon obtained the ascendancy. The language, therefore, of the Anglo-Saxon and his descendants, though more or less tinged by Latinisms is still Saxon. The language of our Saxon forefathers may be to us an unknown tongue, yet their speech is still our heart language, our mother tongue. The tree of modern English, in its body and main branches, is a Saxon tree. Cuttings from other languages may have been grafted into it, from time to time, yet the sap which gives them their vitality is Saxon sap. By a wonderful energy and inherent capacity the Saxon tongue has showed itself able to appropriate words from other languages, and thus adapt itself to the wants of the Anglo-Saxon race though it has become widespread and highly cultured. So that while modern Anglo-Saxon versions of the Bible cannot be said to touch

<sup>1</sup> "Both Mill and Tischendorf refer to *Anglo-Saxon versions* of the Scriptures in connection with textual criticism." Eadie's *History of the English Bible*, I., 17, note.

visibly upon ancient Saxon versions, yet the real life and excellency of modern versions arise from an inseparable relation existing in the oneness of the language and genius of the race.

While it is correct in the main, to regard the period of the Norman Conquest as the turning point in the history of the Saxon tongue, yet for years previous to this, causes had been silently at work, which had much to do with the final result. "In the year 652," says Warton, "it was the common practice of the Anglo-Saxons to send their youth to the monasteries of France for education."<sup>1</sup> This custom prevailed for years, and became very common in the days of Edward the Confessor. He came to the English throne in 1042, but remained Norman both in his sympathies and speech. From the first "he set Norman families in the highest posts in Church and State." As a natural result the French language and customs were adopted by the English court. But back of all this, both as to time and influence, there was a marked superiority in Norman literature, architecture and tradesmanship, a superiority in general culture, which was appreciated and appropriated by the Saxons. And thus the way for the Norman Conquest was prepared, which completed what had already been done.

At first William took quiet possession of the throne, desiring to reign not as a conqueror but as a king. No changes were made either in the laws or customs. It is even said, that the king attempted, though without success, to learn the English tongue, that "he might administer justice, personally, to the suiters in his court." But this quiet was soon broken. In the revolt of the people, the true character of the king was revealed. He swore an oath of revenge, and fulfilled it most cruelly with fire and sword. Foxe, in describing this change in policy, says: "He chaunged the whole state of the gouernaunce of this cōmen weale; and ordeyned new lawes at his owne pleasure, profitable to him selfe, but

<sup>1</sup> *History of English Poetry*, I., 3. London, 1774.

greuous and hurtfull to the people.”<sup>1</sup> In ecclesiastical affairs the king’s tyranny was especially felt. Saxon bishops were removed and foreigners put in their places. So degraded became the Saxon name that it was regarded as a reproach to be called an Englishman. The language was despised, and was driven from the court, castle and pulpit. Children at school were forbidden the use of their native tongue and instructed in the knowledge of the Norman only. For a season it seemed as though the nationality of the people would be swallowed up. William the Conqueror and his descendants for four generations were not Englishmen.<sup>2</sup>

But if the language was driven from the court of the king and the castles of the barons, it took refuge around the firesides of the peasants. And if civil and religious liberty seemed to have been banished the country, yet the love of liberty still lived in the hearts of the people. During these days of darkness it is impossible to trace the intricate conflict of race and language, and tell where and when the elements of each coalesced. Yet results show, there was such a coming together that new elements were formed whose chief characteristics, both as to race and language, were Saxon and not Norman. During this long night of a century and a half, broad foundations were laid in the departments of language, religion and government, upon which the Anglo-Saxon race arose anew. The survival of the Saxon language, is seen in the *Brut of Layamon*, a poem written in Semi-Saxon in the latter part of the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> For although it com-

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 222, folio, 1596.

<sup>2</sup> “This apayringe of the birthe tonge is by cause of tweye thinges ; oon is for children in scole, agenes the usage and maner of alle other nacions, beth compelled for to leve her owne langage, and for to constrewe her lessouns and her thingis a Frensche, and haveth siththe that the Normans come first into England. Also gentil mennes children beth ytaugt for to speke Frensche, from the tyme that thei beth rokked in her cradel, and kunneth speke and playe with a childes broche.” As cited by Tyrwhitt in preface to Chaucer’s *Works*, I., 17. London, 1798.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Marsh’s *Origin and History of English Language*, p. 156. New York, 1862.



prises more than thirty thousand lines, yet it is said to contain "less than fifty Norman words." With the Brut of Layamon begins the new English literature. Again the revival of the Saxon love of freedom is seen in the Great Charter so reluctantly signed by King John in 1215, in which English liberty finds no mean origin. Although this Charter was but the embodiment of the principles of freedom already existing in the written and in the unwritten law of England.<sup>1</sup>

With the thirteenth century the history of modern England begins. Upon these early foundations the descendants of the Saxons have ever since built. All English speaking peoples are interested in these facts, for had the Saxons been subjugated permanently, our language would have been Romance, and our religion Roman Catholic. Prominent among the causes which underlaid this victorious struggle of Saxon over Norman, was the inherent character of the Saxon. By nature he was strong, courageous and independent. Saxon character was remarkable for its simplicity and seriousness. A disposition which Mr. Taine declares predisposed him to Christianity "with its gloom, its aversion to sensual and reckless living, its inclination for the serious and sublime."<sup>2</sup> Besides, Mr. Taine is inclined to ridicule this serious and Hebraic spirit which he finds to be common both to the Bible and to Saxon character. Such derision is not to be wondered at, since the essence of this spirit is so antagonistic to French ideals. And yet this constitutional seriousness is a tower of strength to individuals and nations of Saxon descent.

With this new historical period, which began a hundred and fifty years after the Norman Conquest, there arose not

<sup>1</sup> "But in itself," says Green, "the Charter was no novelty, nor did it claim to establish any new constitutional principles. . . . The Great Charter marks the transition from the age of traditional rights . . . to the age of written legislation, of Parliaments and Statutes, which was soon to come." *Short History of English People*, p. 153. New York, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> *English Literature*, I., 44. New York, 1874.

only a new era of Anglo-Saxon literature, but also of Bible translations. If the old Saxon versions began with the metrical paraphrase of Cædmon, the new English versions begin with the poetical paraphrase of Ormin. This work, according to Tyrwhitt, belongs to the middle of the thirteenth century. But according to Dr. White, it belongs to the first rather than the middle of the century. Although this paraphrase, like that of Cædmon, is not to be ranked as a translation, yet it deserves attention as the first attempt in this new period, to render the Scriptures into the vernacular of the people. The Ormulum, which takes its name from the author, is a metrical paraphrase of selections from Gospel histories; or as Dr. White describes it, a series of Homilies in an imperfect state, composed in metre without alliteration, and, except in a few cases, also without rhyme; the subject of the Homilies being supplied by those portions of the New Testament which were read in the daily service of the Church.”<sup>1</sup> There remains but a single manuscript of the Ormulum, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library. “It is a folio volume, consisting of ninety parchment leaves, besides twenty-nine others inserted, upon which the poetry is written in double columnus . . . and without division into verses.”<sup>2</sup> The Ormulum was edited by Dr. White in two vols. 8vo, 1852, from the Bodleian manuscript. Thomas Tyrwhitt was the first to point out the metrical character of the Ormulum.<sup>3</sup> The following is inserted as a specimen in which the Saxon characters give place to English letters.<sup>4</sup>

Afterr thatt tatt te Laferrd Crist  
After that that the Lord Christ

Wass cumenn off Egypte  
was come from Egypt

<sup>1</sup> Craik's *English Literature and Language*, I., 212. New York, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> Chaucer's *Works*, *Introduction*, I., 40. Oxford, 1795.

<sup>4</sup> Marsh's *English Language and Literature*, pp. 180, 185. New York, 1862.

Inntill the land off Galileo,  
into the land of Galilee,

Till Nazaræthess chesstre,  
to Nazareth's town,

Thærafterr seggth the Goddspellboc  
Thereafter saith the Gospelbook

And siththenn o thatt yer thatt Crist  
And afterwards in the year that Christ

Wass off twelf winnterr elde  
was of twelve winters ago

Theyy comenn inntill Gerrsælæm  
they come into Jerusalem

Att teyyre Passkemesse,  
at their Passover,

& Jesu Crist wass thær withth hemm  
and Jesus Christ was there with them

& afterr thatt te tid wass gan  
and after that the time was gone

Theyy wenndenn fra the temmple,  
they wended from the temple,

An dayyes gang till efenn,  
a day's journey till evening,

& ta theyy misstenn theyyre child,  
and then they missed their child,

& teyy tha wendenn eft onngæn  
and they then turned back again

thatt dere child to sekenn,  
that dear child to seek,

& teyy himm o the thridde dayy  
and they him on the third day

thær fundenn i the temmple  
there found in the temple

Bitwenenn thatt Judisskenn flocc  
among the Jewish flock

Thatt læredd wass o boke;  
that learned was in book;

& he tha gede forth withth hemm  
and he then went forth with them

& dide hemm heore wille,  
and did them their will,

& wass withth hemm till thatt he wass  
and was with them till that he was

Off thrittig winnterr elde.  
of thirty winters age.

During this period and even earlier, a number of Scripture paraphrases were produced. The most remarkable is that which is "cald in Latyn tonge, *Salus Animæ*," and in English tongue, *Sowle Hele*. The manuscript of this version is preserved in the Bodleian Library, and was the gift of Edward Vernon. It is a translation of the Old and New Testaments into verse, and is supposed to have been made before the year 1200. The manuscript is highly illuminated. The following is inserted as a specimen of this paraphrase.<sup>1</sup>

Our ladi and hire suster stoden under the roode,  
And seint John and Marie Magdaleyn with wel sori moode;  
Vr ladi bi heold hire swete son i brouht in gret pyne,  
Ffor monnes gultes nouthen her and nothing for myne,  
Marie weop wel sore and bitter teres leet,  
The teres fullen uppon the ston down at hire feet.  
Alas, my son, for serwe wel off seide heo  
Nabbe iche bote the one that hongust on the treo;  
So ful icham of serwe, as any wommon may beo,  
That ischal my deore child in all this pyne iseo;  
How schal I sone deore, how hast I yougt liven withouten the,  
Nusti nevere of serwe nought sone, what seyst you me?  
Then spake Jhesus wordus gode to his modur dere,  
Ther he heng uppon the roode here I the take a fere,  
That trewliche schal serve ye, thin own cosin Jon,  
The while that you alyve beo among all thi son;  
Ich the hote John, he seide, you wite hire both day and niht  
That the Gýwes hire son ne don hire non un riht.

The earliest English prose version of any portion of the

<sup>1</sup> Warton's *History of English Poetry*, I., 19. London, 1774.

\* Scriptures was that of the Psalms, by William de Schorham, Vicar of Chart-Sutton, near Leeds, in Kent. He was admitted to this vicarage in 1320. The manuscript, therefore, belongs to the earlier half of the fourteenth century. The version is attributed to Schorham, principally on the ground that in several parts of the manuscript "the welfare of his soul is commended to the prayers of the devout reader." The translation is pronounced to be, for the most part, "faithful and literal, except that the words of the gloss are frequently substituted for those of the text." The following is transcribed as a specimen of the translation.<sup>1</sup>

Ps. XXII. Our Lord gouerneth me, and nothyng shal defailen to me ; in the stede of pasture, he sett me ther.

He norissed me vp water of fyllinge ; he turned my soule fram the fende.

He lad me vp the bistiges of rigtfulness ; for his name.

For yif that ich haue gon amiddes of the shadowe of deth ;

Y shal nought douten-iuels, for thou art wyth me.

Thy discipline and thyn amendyng ; comforted me.

Thou madest radi grace in my sight ; ogayns hem that trublen me.

Thou makest fatt myn heued wyth mercy ; and my drynke makand drunken ys ful clere.

And thy merci shal folwen me ; alle daies of mi lif.

And that ich wonne in the hous of our Lord ; in lengthe of daies.

During this same period, but a few years later, appeared Richard Rolle's version of the Psalms. He was chantry priest at Hampole, and was often called the hermit of Hampole. He died in 1349. "The business of whose life," says Baber, "was devotion, and whose amusement was study."<sup>2</sup> In his prologue Hampole gives some account of the Psalms, and describes them as comprehending "al the elde and newe Testament and teching pleyntyly al of it, and the Misteries of the

<sup>1</sup> *Preface.* Forshall and Maddon's *Wycliffite Versions*, I., iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Preface.* Wycliffe's *New Testament*. Baber's ed., p. lxvi. London, 1810.

trynyte and Christ's incarnation." At the close of the prologue, he says: "In this werke, I seke no straunge Ynglys, bot lightest and communest, and swilk that is most like unto the Latyne; so that thai that knowes nought the Latyne be the Ynglys may come to many Latyne wordis. In the translacione I felogh the letter als - mekille as I may, and thor I fyne no proper Ynglys, I felogh the wit of the wordis. . . . In the expowning I felogh holi Doctors."<sup>1</sup> The following Psalm corresponds with number XXIII. of our version. It was transcribed by Mr. Baber from a manuscript of the British Museum, and is here inserted as a specimen of Hampole's version.<sup>2</sup>

Ps. XXII. Our lord gouerneth me and nothyng to me shal wante;  
stede of pasture thar he me sette.

In the water of the hetying forth he me brougte; my soule  
he turnyde.

He ladde me on the streetis of rygtwisesse for his name.

For win yif I hadde goo in myddil of the shadewe of deeth;  
I shal not dreede yueles, for thou art with me.

Thi geerde and thi staf; thei haue coumfortid me.

Thou hast greythid in my sygt a bord; agens hem that  
angryn me.

Thou fattide mine heued in oyle; and my chalys drunkenyng  
what is cleer.

And thi mercy shal folewe me; in alle the dayes of my lyf.

And that I wone in the hous of oure lord in the lengthe of  
dayes.

Besides the above there are other extant manuscripts bearing the name of the hermit of Hampole. One of these is in the Bodleian, and the other in the Sydney College Library. The Sydney manuscript is regarded as the oldest, and is probably the original. The Bodleian manuscript has prefixed to it some verses which give an account of the original version made by Richard Rolle about a hundred years before. These verses state that he made the translation at the instigation of

<sup>1</sup> *Preface*. Wycliff's *New Testament*. Baber's ed., p. lxvi. London, 1810.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. lxvii.

one Margaret Kirkby, and that the original manuscript at that time, 1422, was preserved in the nunnery of Hampole, where it was chained to the tomb of Rolle ; also that the evil Lollards had copied the same, and in their comments had engrafted upon it their heretical opinions. The following is a short extract which comprises some of these particulars:<sup>1</sup>

Therfore a worthy holy man, cald Rychard Hampole,  
Whom the Lord, that all thingus can, leryd lely on his scole,  
Glosed the Sauter that sues here, in Englysch tong sykerly,  
At a worthy recluse prayer, cald dame Merget Kyrkby.  
This same Sauter in all degre, is the self in sothnes,  
That lygt at Hampole in surte, at Richards own berynes,  
That he wrote with his hondes, to dame Merget Kyrkby,  
And ther it lygt in cheyn bondes, in the same nonery.  
In Yorkshyre this nonery ys, who so desires it to know,  
Hym thar no way go omys, . . . . .

Copyed has this Sauter ben, of yuel men of Lollardry,  
And afturward hit has bene sene, ymptyd in with eresy.

And sclaudrid foule this holy man, with her wykked waryed wyles,  
Hier fantom hath made mony a son, thoro the fend that fele begiles.

In translating the Scriptures a decided preference was given, during this early period, to the book of Psalms. There was in the combined spiritual teaching and poetical flow of the Psalms that which both pleased and met the religious wants of the people. Other portions of the Scriptures were translated by those "among the clergy who were studious of the spiritual welfare of the flock over which they were appointed"; especially such portions "as the church in its service brought more immediately into public notice."<sup>2</sup> The following belongs to this period, or somewhat earlier, and is taken from "Specimens of Early English," edited by Morris and Skeat.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Preface*. Forshall and Madden's *Wycliffite Versions*, I., v. Oxford, 1850.

<sup>2</sup> Baber's *Preface*. Wycliffe's *N. T.*, p. lxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Part II., p. 105. Oxford, 1873. The Saxon changed to English characters.

Matt. VI. 9-13. Vader oure thet art ine heuenes, y-halged by thi name, cominde thi riche. y-worthe thi wil, as ine heuene; and ine erthe. bread oure echedayes; gecf ous to day. and uorlet ous oure yeldinges; ase and we uorleteth oure yelderes. and ne ous led naht; into uondinge, ac vri ous vram queade. (evil.) guo by hit.

The specimens given below are from a manuscript of the New Testament supposed to belong to the fourteenth century, and not far from the time of Hampole, though the language seems to indicate a much later date. Lewis makes special mention of the English of this version, as that spoken after the Conquest, though he fixes upon no definite period. The manuscript comprises the Gospels of Mark and Luke, and the Epistles of St. Paul.<sup>1</sup>

Mark I. 7. And he prechyd sayande, a stalworther thane I schal come eftar me of whom I am not worthi downfallande, or knelande, to louse the thwonge of his Chawcers.

VI. 22. When the Doughtyr of that *Herodias* was in-coinyn and had tomblyde and pleside to *Harourde*, and also to the sittande at mete, the kynge says to the wench.

XII. 1. A man made a vynere, and he made aboute a hegge, and grose a lake & byggede a tower.

38. Be se ware of the scrybes whylke wille go in stolis and be haylsede in the market and for to sit in synagogis in the fyrste chayers.

Luke II. 7. . . . and layde hym in a cratche; for to him was no place in the dyversory.

Among the evidences that this manuscript belongs to the age of Hampole is that the comments upon it are very like those he made upon the Psalter. But the language, as before suggested, places it later in the century. If so, its place is nearer to Wycliffe than to Hampole.

Thus far, in tracing the history of Saxon and English versions, we have found that translations confine themselves, for the most part, to single portions or books of the Bible. Not-

<sup>1</sup> *History of Translations of Eng. Bible*, p. 16. London, 1739.



withstanding this, as historic monuments these early versions are of the highest importance, illustrating as they do the English language in its Saxon origin. They further show that the evangelical idea prevailed, which sought to have the Holy Scriptures in the language of the people. Indeed, this was the only thought of the Christian Church until the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it became a distinctive Protestant idea, in opposition to the Roman Catholic decree of the Council of Thoulouse—a decree which required little or no authority to enforce, on account of the intellectual darkness of the people. But from the latter half of the fourteenth century, the translation of the whole Bible and the reading of the same, became living questions. For already there had begun an intellectual awakening: Edward the Third reigned, Mandeville traveled, and Chaucer wrote. In a word, the way was prepared for the Protestant labors of John Wycliffe, the sworn enemy of priestcraft, the translator of the Bible, and the forerunner of the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

## CHAPTER II.

### WYCLIFFE AND THE WYCLIFFITE VERSIONS.

A. D. 1324-1525.

JOHN WYCLIFFE was born in 1324,<sup>1</sup> in a village "caullid Wiclif," from which he received his family name. But little is known of his early boyhood. Although doubts have been thrown upon the date of his entering Queen's College, and upon the statement of his removal to Merton College, yet we are safe in accepting the fact of his early connection with the University of Oxford. In many respects the age was favorable for education. Schools were established for youth, not only at Oxford and Cambridge, but in every borough. However, a significant sign of the times was, that no person could act in the capacity of a school teacher unless licensed by a priest.<sup>2</sup> Wycliffe studied at Oxford as a student, he also taught there as a professor. In following the example of his predecessor Grosstete, who, in the previous century, resisted the arbitrary will of the pope in his disposal of Church benefices, Wycliffe possessed superior advantages, drew a keener sword, and maintained a more successful struggle against the inroads of the papacy. If, like Richard of Armagh, Wycliffe contended with the Mendicant orders, he sought not like that good bishop to reform them, but to exterminate them. Again, if like Geoffrey Chaucer, Wycliffe had confidence in his native tongue, and by his writings helped to give the English language a fixed place in literature, yet, unlike Chaucer, he gave to his age not works of poetry but the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

<sup>1</sup> The probable date of his birth.

<sup>2</sup> Vaughan's *Tracts and Treatises of Wycliffe*. Introduction, p. iii. London, 1845.

Wycliffe was a master of the accepted learning of his times. He especially gave himself to the study of the civil and canon law. The former was a system of jurisprudence which had descended from the times of the Roman Empire, and even of the Republic. It was feudal in its characteristics, and most unfavorable to the liberties of the people. "However wise it may have been," says Vaughan, "in some of its provisions as relating to questions between man and man, it was in every way unfavorable to liberty as between sovereign and subject."<sup>1</sup> The latter, the canon law, was made up of the decrees of councils and popes. It was supreme in all ecclesiastical matters, and not unfrequently it infringed upon the civil power.<sup>2</sup> The temporal power of the papacy was both strenuously asserted and denied in the time of Wycliffe. The writings of Wycliffe show how zealously he embraced the cause of civil

<sup>1</sup> Vaughan's *Tracts and Treatises of Wycliffe*. Introduction, p. vi.

<sup>2</sup> The following are a few selected tenets of the canon law which show the assumptions and fearful power of the Romish Church :

- I. Princes' laws, if they be against the canons and decrees of the bishop of Rome, be of no force nor strength.
- II. The see of Rome hath neither spot nor wrinkle in it, nor cannot err.
- III. The bishop of Rome may excommunicate emperors and princes, depose them from their states, and assoil (absolve) their subjects from their oath of obedience to them, and so constrain them to rebellion.
- IV. The bishop of Rome may open and shut heaven unto men.
- V. The bishop of Rome may give authority to arrest men, and imprison them in manacles and fetters.
- VI. The bishop of Rome may compel princes to receive his legates.
- VII. The clergy ought to give no oath of fidelity to their temporal governors, except they have temporalities of them.
- VIII. Kings and princes ought not to set bishops beneath them, but reverently to rise against them, and assign them an honorable seat by them.
- IX. He is [no] manslayer which slayeth a man which is excommunicate. (The *no* is "wanting in the C. C. C. MS.") See Cramer's *Writings and Letters*, pp. 68-75. Parker Soc. edition, 1846.

freedom in its struggle with ecclesiastical tyranny. Next to the mastery of the civil and canon law, Wycliffe distinguished himself in the study of the philosophy of his times. This was the old system of Scholasticism, which had been recently revived by the renowned Ockham. Wycliffe, though naturally practical in his tendencies, was gifted with a speculative mind, and was thus fitted to wield the scholastic sword in the conflict with his opponents. By his book on the Reality of Universal Conceptions "he had created," says Neander, "an important epoch extending into the fifteenth century."<sup>1</sup> His writings on subjects purely religious show how much he was influenced by this scholastic method. But Wycliffe, unlike other prominent school-men, made the Scriptures the supreme authority in all disputes, and insisted on their being interpreted in accordance with their plain meaning, in opposition to the "sentences of the Doctors, or the philosophy of Aristotle."<sup>2</sup>

The life of Wycliffe was one of conflict. As early as the year 1360, he distinguished himself as an opponent of the Mendicant friars. It is an evidence both of his ability and courage, that, single-handed, he dared to attack a Monastic order of such power and authority in the Romish Church. Two of these orders, the Dominican and Franciscan, ruled the Roman Catholic Church throughout Europe for nearly three centuries, with an absolute sway. And that too against the united influence of prelates and princes. These two orders were to the Romish Church and to the world, before the Reformation, what the Jesuits have been since that time.<sup>3</sup> Devoting themselves to the interests of the papacy, they enjoyed peculiar immunities. They trampled upon the rights of the regular clergy and ignored their authority. By the

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, V., 135. Boston, 1851.

<sup>2</sup> Singularly enough Scholasticism made Aristotle the interpreter of St. Paul.

<sup>3</sup> Warton's *History of English Poetry*, I., 291. London, 1774.

sole condition of professed poverty, they assumed to themselves all riches. They begged for bread, yet lived in luxury. They professed to be the humblest of the humble, yet exalted themselves above kings. Though a servant of servants, yet they claimed that the dignity of the friar was above that of the bishop. "For they say," says Wycliffe, "that each bishop and priest may lawfully leave their first dignity, and after be a *friar*; but when he is once a *friar*, he may in no manner leave that, and live as a bishop, or a priest, by the form of the Gospel."<sup>1</sup> By their zeal and show of piety, they grew in authority among the people; and so infatuated did many become that they regarded the very garments of the friars as possessing miraculous powers; and hence "made it an essential part of their last wills, that their carcasses after death should be wrapped in ragged Dominican or Franciscan habits, and interred among the Mendicants,"<sup>2</sup> in the belief that they might the more readily obtain mercy in the day of judgment if they should appear thus associated with these friars.

The occasion of Wycliffe's first attack upon the friars was their successful attempt to entice the students from Oxford into their convent schools. To such an extent were they successful, that parents refused to trust their children at the University, lest they should be inveigled by the monks into their convents. In this contest Wycliffe appeared in behalf of the University, and dealt heavy blows against the friars. As a reward for his services, as well as in testimony of his ability, the mastership of Balliol College was bestowed upon him by the University in 1361.<sup>3</sup> Wycliffe's opposition to the friars did not stop here. But from the pulpit and by his pen he attacked the very foundations of the Order, showing up the unlawfulness of their begging and the baseness of their religious pretensions. For all this the people were prepared, for the land was burdened by these abuses as by a curse.

<sup>1</sup> *Tracts and Treatises*, p. 219. London, 1845.

<sup>2</sup> Mosheim's *Church History*, I., p. 390. New York, 1851.

<sup>3</sup> Baber's *Preface*. Wycliffe's *New Testament*, p. xi. London, 1810.

At the same time Wycliffe, with a supreme regard for right, stood in readiness to defend it, in the State as well as in the Church, against the demands of the hierarchy. And the opportunity soon presented itself. In 1365 Urban V. revived the papal claim of tribute of a thousand marks, with arrears that had occurred since 1332, "as a feudal acknowledgment for the sovereignty of England and Ireland."<sup>1</sup> Edward III. refused the demand and referred the matter to his Parliament. The Parliament decided to resist by every means possible this proposed usurpation. About this time, there appeared an anonymous pamphlet, which maintained that the sovereignty of England had been forfeited to the pope by the failure to pay the annual tribute. And Vaughan justly remarks, "We may judge of the celebrity of Wycliffe at this time, from the fact that he is called upon by name (in this tract) to show the fallacy of these opinions."<sup>2</sup> The challenge was promptly accepted. Wycliffe's reply, which he put in the form of a debate in the House of Lords, took strong grounds against this claim, also against the ecclesiastical theory of the Middle Ages, that the State is but the child of the Church, consequently that kings are but vassals of the pope. This reply of Wycliffe is interesting, indicating as it does the intelligence of the age, since the arguments he puts into the mouths of his speakers are supposed to be their own sentiments. It shows, too, the intrepidity and disinterestedness of Wycliffe, in that just at this time his own preferment is subject to the good will of the pope. Wycliffe had received the appointment of Warden of Canterbury Hall in 1365, which was superseded by Archbishop Langton in 1367. The appeal of this question to Rome was as yet undecided. But notwithstanding this, Wycliffe, in this reply, boldly opposes papal assumptions, and thus imperiled his private interests at Rome."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wycliffe's *Tracts and Treatises*. *Intro.*, p. xviii. London, 1845.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xix.

<sup>3</sup> The appeal was lost. The pope confirmed the sentence against Wycliffe in the year 1370. Compare Milman's *Latin Christianity*, VII., p. 365. New York, 1874.

Day by day Wycliffe used greater plainness of speech in portraying the scandalous conduct of the friars. He was equally plain in showing up the arbitrary interference of the papacy in conferring church offices upon foreigners, many of whom were wholly unfitted for such positions. Such an appointment was that of Louis Beaumont as Bishop of Durham. This Beaumont was an illiterate French nobleman. He is reputed to have been so ignorant that he was unable to read the bulls announced at his consecration. In his attempt, it is said that he stumbled at the word *metropolitica*. After trying in vain to pronounce it, he said in French, "Suppose that said." Again, when he came to the words, *in ænigmat*, he called out, as before: "By St. Louis, it could be no gentleman who wrote this stuff."<sup>1</sup> Frequent remonstrances by the English Crown against this gross usurpation effected but little. The celebrated acts of Parliament against provisors, in 1350, and of *præmunire*, in 1353, the former of which wrested from the papacy the right of disposing of all benefices, and the latter vindicated "the right of the State of England to prohibit the admission or the execution of all Papal Bulls or Briefs within the realm"<sup>2</sup>—these acts, however bold and salutary, had become virtually dead letters. Romish spoliation was now greater than ever before. Hence, to save the property of the whole realm from being swallowed up by the hierarchy, embassies were sent out in 1373 and 1374, to treat with the pope and his nuncios, and remonstrate still further against papal "reservation of benefices in the Anglican Church."<sup>3</sup> Wycliffe was a member of the latter commission, which met at Bruges and sat for two years, but accomplished comparatively nothing. The insight, however, which Wycliffe gained during the sittings of this commission into the spirit and policy of Rome, doubtless

<sup>1</sup> Townley's *Biblical Literature*, II., p. 3. London, 1821.

<sup>2</sup> Milman's *Latin Christianity*, VII., p. 354. The custom existed "of appealing on questions of property from the decision of the English courts to the courts of the pontiffs."

<sup>3</sup> *Tracts and Treatises of Wickliffe*. Intro., p. xxix.

strengthened his convictions in respect to the necessity of further reformation.

The prominent part which Wycliffe took in the controversy between the king and the pope excited the bitterest hatred against him. But if he lost with the pope, he gained with the king. His influence is now at its height at court. He is already the king's chaplain. Royal patronage is bestowed upon him. As an example, the rectory of Lutterworth is notable, since he occupied it till the time of his death. At the University of Oxford he was regarded almost as an oracle. His lectures in Philosophy and Divinity attracted students even from the Continent.<sup>1</sup> His influence was not confined to his lectures at Oxford, but extended abroad through his writings, which were extensively read at the University of Prague. John Huss declared in a paper written about the year 1411, that for "thirty years the writings of Wycliffe were read at Prague University, and that he himself had been in the habit of reading them for more than twenty years."<sup>2</sup> If Wycliffe is summoned before papal councils, he is protected by powerful friends at court. In the Councils of London, 1377, and Lambeth, 1378, he was thus protected. But afterwards, when, in the spirit of a true reformer, he attacked the fundamental doctrines of the Church of Rome, his court friends desert him, and clouds big with wrath gather around his unprotected head. Even the Duke of Lancaster, heretofore a firm supporter, now "advised him to submit in all doctrinal matters to the judgment of his Order." But Wycliffe did not so understand his duty. And now that he is deserted by his political friends, his enemies are exultant. They flatter themselves that he will now retract his heretical opinions. They hasten, therefore, to summon him before an ecclesiastical court at Oxford. The court assembles, and is made up of archbishops, bishops, chan-

<sup>1</sup> "Bohemians studied in Oxford, and were there seized with enthusiasm for the doctrines of Wicklif." Neander's *Church History*, V., 241. Boston, 1854.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.



cellors, doctors, with many of the inferior clergy. Before this array of dignity Wycliffe stands alone. But in pleading his own cause, he is inspired with such consciousness of right, with such clear insight of truth, and with such force of native genius, that his defense extorts from his adversaries nought but praise. From this scene Wycliffe returned to Lutterworth, where, though silent, he continued to lift up his voice against the false doctrines and base practices of the Romish Church.

The reign of Edward III. was brilliant with military, commercial and social successes. But towards its close, sad reverses set in. Great prosperity bred moral corruption. Instead of victory on the battle-field there was defeat. Then financial troubles ensued, which involved burdensome taxes, conflict between capital and labor, and the interference of legislation with the rights of the laborer. And in addition to all this there were repeated visitations of that fearful scourge, known as the Black Death, which paralyzed every nerve of the social system. In its ravages through towns and villages, about one half of the population was swept away. And the end was not yet, for hard upon this scourge followed organized systems of beggary and outlawry. The beggar and the bandit stalked independently through the land. This state of things worked a class jealousy between the rich and the poor; and matters were brought to a crisis by the uprising of such men as John Ball and Wat Tyler, who preached and headed insurrections among the people. This was the period of England's shame; a period when the priests of religion did most to dishonor religion; a period that cried aloud for reformation; a period that called for such an one as John Wycliffe, who, though driven from the court and the University, yet in taking up his permanent abode at Lutterworth found coadjutors, who were one with him in sympathy, persecution and labor. Here he organized a preaching ministry. He declared preaching to be the duty of the priestly office. "Mattins, masses and chantings," he wrote, were "man's ordinances,"

but the preaching of the Gospel was of "Divine obligation."<sup>1</sup> One of "the deceits" of the times which Wycliffe exposed was that priests should give themselves to prayers rather than preaching. "These enlightened views," says Vaughan, "concerning the paramount importance of preaching exhibit the mind of Wycliffe as some two centuries in advance of his age."<sup>2</sup> Besides he had no respect for the kind of preaching practiced by the Romish priests, and in order to improve upon their methods he said: "If begging friars stroll over the country preaching the legends of saints and the history of the Trojan war, we must do for God's glory what they do to fill their wallets, and form a vast itinerant evangelization to convert souls to Jesus Christ."<sup>3</sup> The followers of Wycliffe, in derision styled Lollards, increased rapidly in numbers towards the close of Wycliffe's life. And the secret of their power was that they bore in their hands, and hearts, and upon their tongues, the Scriptures in the language of the people. As to the exact time when Wycliffe conceived and executed his translation of the Bible we have no means of determining. But it was about the year 1380, and was the great work of his life. It was a permanent step in the way of reformation, the preparation of spiritual seed which his followers might sow, and from which year after year grand harvests might be reaped.

The translation of the Bible into the language of the people was a Protestant idea. Not that the Roman Catholic Church had discarded the Bible, but rather had consecrated it as a thing of the Church, consequently a thing too sacred for the people to handle. The very language of the Bible, which for a thousand years had been Latin, was sacred because it was the language of the Church service; to handle it, therefore, by way of translating it into a vulgar tongue, was sacrilege in the

<sup>1</sup> *Tracts and Treatises of Wycliffe*, p. 14. London, 1845.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Cited by D'Aubigne's *Hist. of Ref.*, V., 91. N. D., New York.

eyes of the Church. There had already grown up a fixed relation between the Latin language and the Romish Church. So mutual had become this relation that they must stand or fall together. Moreover, if Romanism is one with the Latin, equally true is it that Protestantism is one with the Teutonic tongue. The conflict, therefore, between these two world-wide forces became largely one of language. Hence Wycliffe's desire to give the Holy Scriptures to the people in their own language, and to deprive the Church of Rome of one of its chief sources of superstitious reverence. Hence also the violent opposition of the Romish Church to English versions of the Bible. The Gospel, said the papists, is the peculiar property of the Church "which Christ had entrusted with the *Clergy* and *Doctors* of the Church, that they might minister it to the *Laity* and weaker sort according to the exigency of the times." But now they bewailed the fact that through Wycliffe's translation, the Church was robbed of its "Evangelical Pearl," which was now cast out "and trodden under foot of swine," and that by this means, "the Gospel was made *vulgar*, and laid more open to the *Laity* and even to women who could read, than it used to be to the most learned of the *Clergy*."<sup>1</sup> These words of Knyghton, a canon of Leicester, and a cotemporary with Wycliffe, have been quoted often and deserve to be set forth again and again, since they show what has been the spirit of Rome from the first, in withholding the Bible from the people.

The English version of the Bible by Wycliffe was such an offense, that a bill was introduced into the House of Lords in 1390, to suppress it. In the course of the debate the Duke of Lancaster is reported to have said: "We will not be the dregs of all; seeing other Nations have the Law of GOD, which is the Law of our Faith, written in their own Language. . . . . That he would maintain our having the Law in our own tongue against those, whoever they should be, who

<sup>1</sup> Lewis' *History of English Translations of the Bible*, p. 21. London, 1729.

first brought in the Bill." He was sustained by others, and finally the "Bill was thrown out of the House."<sup>1</sup> Soon after the death of Wycliffe, the papists in their wrath sought to prohibit further translations of the Bible, and to destroy those already made. The constitution of Arundel, which Foxe calls "a cruel constitution," ordained in solemn council at Oxford in 1408, among other decrees, "that no man hereafter by his owne authoritie, translate any text of the Scripture into English, or any other tongue by way of a boke, libell, or treatise; and that no man read any such boke, libell or treatise, now lately set forth in the tyme of John Wycliffe, or sithens, or hereafter to be set forth, in parte or in whole, privily or appertly; upon payne of the greater excommunication, until the sayd translation be allowed by the ordinary of the place, or (if the case so require) by the councell prouinciall: He that shall do contrary to this shall likewise be punished as a fauourer of errour and heresie."<sup>2</sup> In the year 1389 the followers of Wycliffe separated themselves from the Romish Church, and in their public services used not only the Scriptures in English, but also the breviary, missils and primer. Hence the alarm and severe action of this council, which as an instrument of terror was held suspended over the heads of all who dared to translate, or even read, the Holy Scriptures in English. But instead of intimidating the Lollards and banishing their heretical opinions, their numbers were multiplied and their courage increased. So enraged was the archbishop on account of the spread of Lollardism, "that he solicited the Pope to grant him the privilege of burning the remains of Wycliffe." This fiendish request was not then granted; but in a few years afterwards the council of Constance, 1415, condemned Wycliffe as a heretic, and decreed the "burning of his books, also the exhuming and burning of his bones, if they might be discovered and known from the bodies of other

<sup>1</sup> Lewis' *History of English Translations of the Bible*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 627. Black Letter copy, 1596.

faithful people." But even this sentence was not executed until some thirteen years after, when, by the order of the pope, the grave was opened and the bones burnt and the ashes cast into the brook called the Swift.

We have Wycliffe's testimony concerning the bitter hatred of the papists of the Scriptures in English. In one of his homilies he writes: "And algates (always) they dyspysen that men shulden knowe *Cryste's* lyfe, for thenne prestes schulden schome (be ashamed) of hyre lyves, and specially these hye prestes, for thei reversen *crist* bothe in worde and in dede. And herfore on (one) gret byschop of *englelond*, as men sayen, is yuel payed (pleased) that GODDE's lawe is written in englysche to lewede (ignorant) men."<sup>1</sup> Again in Wycliffe's Wickett we read: "They say it is heresy to speak of the holy scripture in English, and so they would condemn the Holy Ghost that gave it in tongues to the apostles of Christ."<sup>2</sup> And in his tract written to expose the friars he says: "And thus they pursue priests . . . . both to bren (burn) them and the Gospel of Christ written in English."<sup>3</sup>

In respect to the English version of the Bible made in the time of Wycliffe, friend and foe concur in attributing the translation to Wycliffe. And while it is difficult to determine with certainty his share in the work, there is no question but that its accomplishment must be traced to his zeal, encouragement, and devotion. That there should be obscurity as to the exact date of the enterprise, and to the persons engaged in it, is by no means surprising, since it was undertaken in times of danger and persecution. The principal data, upon which to base an opinion regarding the time of the translation, must be found in the writings of Wycliffe, in which he defends the right of the people to the Scriptures in English, both as indicating his interest in the work and the opposition against it. And further, as intimating that the New Testament in whole

<sup>1</sup> Lewis' *History of English Translations of the Bible*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Tracts and Treatises of Wycliffe*, p. 275.      <sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 247.

or in part had already been set forth. Tracts of Wycliffe containing such references are frequent after the year 1378. The year 1380 is the accepted date of the Wycliffe versions, and is probably the nearest approximation that can be made to the true date.

It has long been understood by those who have had to do with the Wycliffe MSS. that there were evidences of an earlier and a later version, and that probably one was but the revision of the other. And yet great confusion has existed as to which was the earlier and which the later version. The question, however, has been most satisfactorily settled by the admirable edition of the Wycliffite versions by Forshall and Madden, 1850.<sup>1</sup> In their preface they give the credit to Henry Wharton as the one who first determined the respective authorships and dates of the two versions. Wharton assigned the earlier to Wycliffe, and the later version to the author of the General Prologue. Dr. Waterland rejected this theory, and took as the earlier that which in fact was the later version. Lewis, who edited the New Testament of Wycliffe, unfortunately adopted the opinions of Waterland, and Mr. Baber followed his example. But in the examination of a large number of manuscripts, these last editors found one or two manuscripts containing a part of one and a part of another text, and that the earlier text occupied the first place. Again, they found fewer of the earlier MSS. extant; also, that the language of the earlier MSS. was somewhat more antiquated, and the style more involved.<sup>2</sup> But the chief evidence is found in the General Prologue, where it speaks of "*the English bible late translated.*"<sup>3</sup> From which we may infer not only an earlier version, but also that the author of this Prologue was the author of the later version.

While it is now generally accepted that the earlier text of the New Testament is that of Wycliffe, there are evidences

<sup>1</sup> *Preface, Wycliffite Versions*, by Forshall and Madden, I., p. xxi. Oxford, 1850.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Prologue, p. 58.

that go to show that the earlier text of the Old Testament is the work of Nicholas de Hereford, who was a coadjutor of Wycliffe, and a prominent leader of the Lollard party. His name is intimately associated with those of Wycliffe, Reppington, and others, who were denounced as base heretics. In 1382, on the 18th of May, Hereford was summoned before the Synod of Preaching Friars, in London, for trial, and at an adjourned meeting in July he was excommunicated. He appealed from this sentence to Rome, where he was thrown into prison. Obtaining his release he returned to England, only to be again imprisoned; but in 1387 he was at liberty, and engaged in disseminating Lollard opinions.<sup>1</sup> The original copy of this Hereford manuscript of the Old Testament is preserved in the Bodleian Library, and is "corrected throughout by a contemporary hand." There is also a second copy in the same Library which contains at the end a note, in a different hand, and in paler ink, which assigns by name this version to Hereford. Both of the manuscripts end with Baruch iii., 20.<sup>2</sup> This abrupt ending, together with Hereford's apprehension in 1382, form a coincidence which so far helps to confirm the fact of authorship as rightly belonging to him. Moreover, from this break in the third chapter of Baruch, the translation is by another hand, which is judged to be that of Wycliffe. One of the grounds of this judgment is, that certain words of the text have a uniform rendering with the same words in the earlier text of the New Testament, while these same words are rendered differently in the portion of the Old Testament assigned to Hereford.<sup>3</sup> In respect to the earlier version then, the New Testament text, and that portion of the Old Testament which follows Baruch iii., 20, is the work of Wycliffe. The following excerpts are from Forshall and Madden's Wycliffite versions, and are here inserted as specimens:

Matt. VI. 9-13. Forsothe thus ye shulen preyen, Oure fadir that art  
in heuenes, halwid be thi name; thi kyngdom cumme to; 'be

<sup>1</sup> *Preface, Wycliffite Versions*, by Forshall and Madden, I., p. xvii., *note*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. xviii., *note*.

thi wille don as in heuen and in erthe; gif to vs this day oure breed ouer other substaunce; and forgeue to vs our dettis, as we forgeue to oure dettours; and leode vs nat in to temtacioun, but delyuere vs fro yuel. *Amen, that is, so be it.*

- 1 Cor. XIII. 1-13, If I speke with tungis of men and aungels, *sothli* I haue not charite, I am maad as bras sownnyng, or a symbal tynkyng. And if I schal haue prophesye, and haue knowun alle mysteries, and al kunnyng, *or science*, and if I schal haue al feith, so that I *bere ouere hillis, fro o place to another*, forsoth if I *schal not haue charite*, I am nogt. And if I schal departe alle my goodis into metis of pore men, and if I schal bytake my body, so that I brenne, forsothe if I *schal not haue charite*, it profitith to me no thing. Charite is patient, it is benygne, *or of good will*, charite enuyeth not, it doth not gyle, it is not inblowyn *with pride*, it is not ambitious, *or coueitous of worschipis*, it sekith not tho thingis that ben her owne, it is not stird to wraththe, it thenkith not yuel, it ioyeth not in wickednesse, forsoth it ioyeth togidere to treuthe; it suffrith alle thingis, it bileueth alle thingis, it hopith alle thingis, it susteyneth alle thingis, Charite fallith not down, where prophecyes schulen be voydid, ether langagis schulen ceesse, ether science schal be distroyed. Forsoth of party we han knowen, and of party we prophesien; forsothe whanne that schal come that is perfyte, that thing that is of party, schal be avoydid. Whanne I was a litil child, I spak as a litil child, I undirstood as a litil child, I thoughte as a litil child; forsoth whanne I was maad man, I auoydide tho thingis that weren of a litil child. Forsoth we seen now by a myrour in a derknesse, thanne forsothe face to face; now I knowe of party, *thanne forsoth I schal knowe*, as I am kuowyn. Now forsothe dwellen feith, hope, and charite, thes thre; forsoth the mooste of thes is charite.

The above extracts show but in part the excellencies of Wycliffe as a translator. There is a marked simplicity in his phraseology which has been peculiar ever since to English versions of the Scriptures. It is true that the English language at that period was favorable in the "simplicity of its vocabulary and verbal combinations," which corresponded in these particulars to the Greek and Hebrew of the original text. Then Wycliffe's ideal in the choice of words was to adapt the Scriptures to the common people; and though he translated



from the Latin Vulgate he did not follow it literally either as to the order or the form of its words.

Hereford, on the contrary, was a literal translator. He followed closely the order of the Latin text in his desire to make a correct translation. He introduced many Latinisms; and yet so comparatively free was he from them that Mr. Marsh refers to him as a resuscitator "of obsolete Anglo-Saxon forms." Marsh further suggests that Hereford might have been familiar with an Anglo-Saxon version of a part at least of the Bible.<sup>1</sup> This is no unimportant point in the history of English translation, since, if it can be established, our English Bible of to-day may be traced back, with scarcely a broken link, to its Saxon origin. While there can be no question in regard to the fact that when the Wycliffite versions were first circulated there was no other English version extant, yet may there not have been a copy or copies of Ælfric's Heptateuch not only in existence but accessible to such scholars as Wycliffe and Hereford? In assuming an affirmative answer to this question there is involved nothing improbable, since the Heptateuch is assigned to the first quarter of the eleventh century; the period therefore intervening from Ælfric to Wycliffe would be less than three hundred and fifty years. A very old tract, written about the year 1400, mentions "a Bible possessed by one Wering, of London, which had been seen by many, and seemed two hundred years old."<sup>2</sup> If any dependence can be placed upon the presumed age of this Bible, it must have been not only a very early version, but possibly a copy of Ælfric's Heptateuch. The following specimens are here inserted from the earlier version attributed to Hereford:<sup>3</sup>

Gen. XXII. 1-19. Aftyr that thes thingis weren doon, God temtide Abraham, and seide to hym, Abraham! Abraham! He answeride, I am nygh. He seide to hym, Tak thin oonlie gotun sone, whom thou louest, Ysaac, and go into the loond of

<sup>1</sup> *English Language and Literature*, p. 360. New York, 1862.

<sup>2</sup> *Preface*, Forshall and Madden's *Wycliffite Versions*, I., p. xxi., note.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Extracts from, *in loco*.

visioun, and there offre hym into sacrifice al brent, vpon oon of the hillis whiche I shal shewe to thee. Thanne Abraham on the nyght with rysynge, dighte his asse, ledynge with hym two yong men, and Ysaac his sone; and when he had hewid his wode into brent sacrifice, he gede to the place which comundide hym God. And the thrid day, the eyen heued vp, he sawe a place 'a feer; and seide to his children, Abydith here with the asse, I and the child vnto thidir goynge, aftir that we hann onowryd, we shulen com agen to yow. And he toke the wode of the sacrifice, and putte vpon Ysaac, his sone; he forsothe bare in his hondis fier, and a swerd. And whanne thei two geden to gideris, seide Ysaac to his fadir, My fadir! And he answeride, What wilt thou, sone? Lo! he seith, fier and wode, where is the sacrifice of that that shal be brent? Abraham seide, God shal puruey to hym, my sone, the sacrifice of that that shal be brent. Thanne thei geden togider, and comen to the place whom God shewide to hym, in the which he bildide an auter, and aboue made the wode; and whan he had boundun Ysaac, his sone, he putte hym in the auter, vpon the heep of wode. And he strawghte his honde, and toke the swerd, that he myght offre his sone. And loo! the aungel of the Lord fro heuene cryede, seiynge, Abraham! Abraham! The which answeride, I am nygh. And he seide to hym, Strecche thou not thin hond out vpon the child, and do not eny thing to hym; now I haue knowun that thou dredist God, and thou hast not sparid to thin one goten son for me. . . . And the aungel of the Lord clepide Abraham eftsonys fro heuene, seiynge, Bi my sylf I swore, seith the Lord, for thou hast do this thing, and thou hast not sparid to thin oon gotun sone for me, I shal blis to thee, and I shal multiply thi seed as sterris of heuene, and as grauel that is in the brenk of the see; thy seed shal weeld the gatis of his enemyes; and al folk of the erthe shal be blesid in thi seed, for thou hast obeishid to my vois. And Abraham turnyde agen to his children, and gede to Bersabee togider, and he dwellide there.

Compare the following, which is also a specimen of the earlier version of Hereford, with the translations of the same by Schorham and Hampole, inserted above.<sup>1</sup> The numbering of the Psalms, in the Wycliffe versions, follows the Latin Vulgate,

<sup>1</sup> See pages 48, 49, above.

which, with the Septuagint, differs from the Hebrew Bible. Consequently, Number XXII. here corresponds with Number XXIII. of our present English Bible, which, in its numbering, follows the Hebrew:<sup>1</sup>

Ps. XXII. 1-6. The Lord gouerneth me, and no thing to me shal lacke; in the place of leswe where he me ful sette. Ouer watir of fulfilling he nurshide me; my soule he conuertide. He broghte doun me vpon the sties of rightwisenesse; for his name. For whi and if I shal go in the myddel of the shadewe of deth; I shal not dreden euelis, for thou art with me. Thy gerde and thy staf; tho han confortid me. Thou hast maad redi in thi sighte a bord; agen hem that trublyn me. Thou hast myche fattid in oile myn hed; and my chalis makende ful drunken, how right cler it is. And thi mercy shal vnderfolewe me; alle the dayis of my lif. And that I dwelle in the hous of the Lord; in to the lengthe of dayis.

The later version, by John Purvey, is in part a revision, and in part a new translation. The date of the work is variously estimated, some ascribing it to the year 1388, others putting it as late as 1396. The former is probably nearer the correct date.<sup>2</sup> In the New Testament, and that portion of the Old Testament translated by Wycliffe, few changes comparatively were made; but in that part of the Old Testament attributed to Hereford the changes are more marked. Before

<sup>1</sup> The Septuagint and Vulgate join the IX. and X. Psalms, thereby making the X. to correspond with the XI. of the Hebrew Bible; and so on to the CXIV. of the Hebrew, where the Septuagint and the Vulgate unite two Psalms into one, that is, the CXIV. and CXV. of the Hebrew, so that in the Septuagint and Vulgate the CXIV. corresponds with the CXVI. of the Hebrew Bible. But as the Septuagint and Vulgate end the CXIV. Psalm with the ninth verse, and number the remaining portion as the CXV. Psalm, in numbering they are only one behind the Hebrew Bible till they come to the CXLVII., which they divide at the twelfth verse, thereby making the CXLVIII. Psalm to correspond as to number in each of the three versions. So also in Wycliffe's version, and that of our Authorized version; the former of which follows the Vulgate, and the latter the Hebrew numbering.

<sup>2</sup> Forshall and Madden's *Wycliffite Versions*, Preface, pp. xxiii., xxiv.

entering upon the work of revision, Purvey states that he made a new Latin text by first gathering "manie elde biblis . . . .to make oo (one) Latyn bible sumdel trewe."<sup>1</sup> He then compared it with the glosses of learned commentators, and "speciali Lire on the elde testament, that helpide ful myche in this werk; the thridde tyme to counseile with elde grama-riens, and elde dyuynis of harde wordis, and harde sentencis. . . . .The iiij tyme to translate as cleerli as he coude to the sentence, and to haue manie gode felawis and kunnynges at the correctyng of the translacioun."<sup>2</sup> From this we learn that he had fellow-helpers, and that he sought to make thorough work. John Purvey was a leader in the Lollard party after the death of Wycliffe. He was learned and eloquent, and was an able defender of the Wycliffite doctrines. Knyghton describes him as being intimately associated with Wycliffe, and a boarder in his house.<sup>3</sup> Falling into the hands of Archbishop Arundel, he was imprisoned and forced to abjure, after which he was promoted by that wily bishop. But it was all in vain, for Purvey coming again to his right mind relapsed into his former opinions, and was again deprived of his liberty, and probably died in prison. Thomas Walden, though an enemy of the Lollards, graphically describes John Purvey as "the Library of the Lollards and *Wiclif's* Glosser, an eloquent Divine, and famous for his Skill in the Law."<sup>4</sup>

The question settled that John Purvey is the author of the General prologue of the Wycliffite versions; the fact is thereby established that he is the author of the later version.<sup>5</sup> But so soon was this revision undertaken after the first was set forth; and as it was done by one who was familiarly styled, "Wycliffe's Glosser;" by one who was a boarder in his house; by these and other facts put together, we are constrained to

<sup>1</sup> Forshall and Madden's *General Prologue*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Lewis' *History of English Translations of the Bible*, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> See the several steps by which this conclusion is reached in the *Preface to the Wycliffite Versions*, p. 25. Forshall and Madden's ed., 1850.

believe that in its origin at least, this later version was largely due to John Wycliffe. Though it is true, that he could not have witnessed much of its progress, as he died in 1384. The following is inserted for the sake of comparison, from the later version, though it but imperfectly illustrates the improvements made by Purvey.

Gen. XXII. 1-19. And after that these thingis weren don, God assaiede Abraham, and seide to hym, Abraham! Abraham! He answerde, Y am present. God seide to him, Take thi sone oon gendrid, whom thou louest, Ysaac; and go into the lond of visioun, and offre thou hym there in to brent sacrifice, on oon of the hillis whiche Y schal schewe to thee. Therfor Abraham roos by night, and sadlide his asse, and ledde with hym twey yonge men, and Ysaac his sone; and whanne he hadde hewe trees in to brent sacrifice, he gede to the place which God hadde comaundid to him. Forsothe in the thridde dai he reise hise iyen, and seiȝ a place afer; and he seide to hise children, Abide ye here with the asse, Y and the child schulen go thidur; and after that we han worchipid, we schulen turne agen to you. And he took the trees of brent sacrifice, and puttide on Ysaac his sone: forsothe he bar fier, and swerd in hise hondis. And whanne thei tweyne geden togidere, Isaac seide to his fadir, My fadir! And he answerde, What wolt thou sone? He seide, Lo! fier and trees, where is the beeste of brent sacrifice? Abraham seide, My sone, God schal puruey to hym the beeste of brent sacrifice. Therefore thei geden togidere, and camen to the place which God hadde schewid to hym, in which place Abraham bildide an auter, and dresside trees aboue; and whanne he hadde bounde togidere Ysaac, his sone, he puttide Ysaac in the auter, on the heep of trees. And he helde forth his hond, and took the swerd to sacrifice his sone. And lo! an aungel of the Lord criede fro heuene, and seide, Abraham! Abraham! Which answerde, I am present. And the aungel seide to hym, Holde thou not forth thin honde on the child, nether do thou ony thing to him; now Y haue knowe that thou dredist God, and sparidist not thin oon gendrid sone for me. . . . Forsothe the aungel of the Lorde clepide Abraham the secounde tyme for heuene, and seide, The Lord seith, Y haue swore bi my silf, for thou hast do this thing, and hast not sperid thin oon gendrid for

me, Y schal blesse thee, and Y schal multiplie thi seed as the sterreis of heuene, and as grauel which is in the brynk of the see; thi seed shal gete the gatis of hise enemyes; and alle the folkis of erthe schulen be blessid in thi seed, for thou obeiedist to my vois. Abraham turnede agen to hise children, and thei zeden to Bersabee togidere, and he dwellide there.

Forshall and Madden's noble volumes<sup>1</sup> from which the above was taken, render accessible a mine of wealth heretofore closed except to a favored few. A mine rich in specimens not only of the earliest English Scripture versions, but of the English language of the fourteenth century. This edition was published in 1850, and furnished for the first time the Wycliffite versions of the whole Bible in print. The later version of the New Testament was published by J. Lewis in 1731; which was reprinted by H. H. Baber in 1810. Again this later version was published by the Messrs. Bagster in the English Hexapla, 1841, from a manuscript now in the collection of the earl of Ashburnham. The earlier version was not printed till 1848, when it was published by Mr. Lea Wilson. The Song of Solomon was the only portion of the Old Testament of the Wycliffite versions published previous to 1850. This was printed by Dr. Adam Clarke in his Commentary, 1810-1825.<sup>2</sup> The Messrs. Forshall and Madden in preparing their edition of the Wycliffite versions, examined over a hundred and fifty manuscripts. In giving an account of their work they say: "The texts have been printed from the MSS. with scrupulous exactness;" that four copies were selected in the earlier version, and the text formed from these, was collated with nineteen other manuscripts. For the later text one manuscript was followed, but it was compared

<sup>1</sup> " *The Holy Bible, with the Apocryphal Books in the Earliest English Versions*, by John Wycliffe and his Followers. With the *General Prologue*; also with an invaluable *Preface and Glossary*, 4 vols. 4to. Edited by Rev. Josiah Forshall, and Sir Frederic Madden. Oxford, 1850.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, I., *Preface*, p. 1, *note*.

with "no less than thirty-four other copies."<sup>1</sup> The majority of the manuscripts examined by these editors were transcribed about the year 1420 ; while some date as early as 1390.

From the large number of the Wycliffite MSS. still preserved in the public and private libraries of Great Britain, it is evident that the later manuscripts soon displaced the earlier ones. It is likewise evident that this Manuscript English Bible of Wycliffe enjoyed a wide circulation, notwithstanding the fiery persecution waged against its friends. A dark page in the history of these times was recorded by Foxe when he published extracts from the Bishop's Registers, which were filled with the names of the accused, with an account of the cruel penalties inflicted upon them. Margery Backster was accused on the ground of inviting Joan Cliffeland, her maid, to come to her chamber "to hear her husbunde reade the lawe of Christ vnto them, which law is written in a booke that her husbunde was wont to reade to her by night, and that her husbunde is well learned in the Christian verity."<sup>2</sup> The accusation against Richard Fletcher reads: "A most perfect doctour in that sect, and can very well and perfectly expounde the Holy Scriptures, and hath a booke of the new law in English."<sup>3</sup> Those thus accused were forced to abjure their opinions, or suffer imprisonment or some humiliating penance. Notwithstanding all this, the people during these evil times, eagerly sought and read the Scriptures. To meet this demand manuscripts were transcribed containing separate books, particularly those of the New Testament. "These, because writing was dear and expensive," says Lewis, "and copies therefore of the whole New Testament not easy to be purchased by the generality of Dr. Wiclif's followers, were often written in small Volumes. One of these little books in

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I., p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> In 1429, Nicholas Belward was accused for possessing a New Testament which he bought in London for 4 marks and xl. pence; equal to £2 16s. 8d., or about fourteen dollars in American money. Compare Foxe's *Acts and Mon.*, p. 788, folio edition, 1596.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 788.

24° I have; it contains *St. John's Gospel*, the Epistles of *St. James*, *St. Peter*, *St. John*, *St. Jude*, and the *Apocalyps*.”<sup>1</sup> By reference to the Bishop's Registers it will appear that these little books were numerous, as they are often specified as being found upon the persons of those accused. Sometimes the Gospels are spoken of either separately, or together; or it is the book of Acts, or the Epistle of James, or the Apocalypse that is specified. It appears also from these Registers, that many of those who possessed these little volumes were either servants or tradesmen. And it is not an unfair inference to suppose that there were those who were both able and willing to bear the expense of copying the manuscripts for distribution among the people.

In these Wycliffite versions, which are now five hundred years old, there are, as we might expect, antiquated forms of speech, peculiarities in spelling, and obsolete words, which unite in making the printed page somewhat obscure. And yet it is quite noticeable that when the spelling is modernized, so simple is the style and Biblical the phraseology, that the text is easily read and understood, though a certain quaintness remains. The following list will illustrate how words most familiar become strange through their orthography, and consequently obscure the text: *Asaught*, assault; *eeris*, ears; *earnys*, earnest; *felough*, follow; *fend*, fiend; *gestis*, guests; *hole*, whole; *hoo*, who; *iche*, each; *iye*, eye; *kilden*, killed; *ligyng*, lying; *maad*, made; *meest*, most; *nogt*, nought; *noither*, neither; *oo*, one; *oost*, host; *pawme*, palm; *pite*, piety; *prie*, pray; *schoon*, shun; *thennis*, thence; *tythings*, tidings; *unpesible*, unpeaceable; *waast*, waste; *wolun*, will; *ynough*, enough.

The above were selected from the glossary attached to Mr. Baber's edition of “Wycliffe's New Testament,” printed in 1810. A glance at this glossary shows also a large number of words, at that time considered obsolete or strange, which are

<sup>1</sup> *History of Translations of Eng. Bible*, p. 39. 1739.



now familiar; which argues incidentally, that we are drawing nearer in knowledge and use of language, to the age of Wycliffe and Chaucer. There are, however, in the Wycliffite versions many obsolete words, which divide themselves into two classes; those that have changed their meaning, but not their form, and those that have changed both form and meaning. In the first class we have such words as *catel*, substance or goods; *castel*, town or village; *cofyns*, baskets; *departe*, divide; *lechis*, physicians; *opynioun*, rumor; *sad*, firm, and *sadnesse*, firmness or steadfastness; *opresse*, stop; *clarified*, glorified; *tent*, attention, heed; *tree*, wood; *bitake*, deliver; *gabbe*, lie; all of which may be found below in their several connections.<sup>1</sup>

Matt. IX. 35. And Jhesus compaside aboute alle citees and *castels*.

X. 35. Sothely Y cam to *departe* a man ageins his fadir.

XIV. 20. . . . twelue *cofyns* ful.

XXIV. 9. Thenne thei schulen *bitake* you 'in to tribulacioun and thei schulen slee you.

Mark XIII. 7. Sothli whanne ye schulen heere batels and *opyniouns* of bateils, drede ye not.

Luke VI. 48. . . . for it was foundid on a *sad* stoon.

VIII. 43. . . . which hadde spendid al hir *catel* in to *lechis*, nether myghte be curid of ony.

XI. 53. . . . and *opresse* his mouth 'of many thingis.

John XV. 8. In this thing my fadir is *clarified*.

Gal. I. 20. . . bifore God for I lye not, 'or *gabbe* not.

I. Tim. IV. 16. Tak *tent* to thi silf and doctryn.

II. Tim. II. 20. But in a greet hous ben not oneli vessels of gold and of siluer, but also of *tree* and of erthe.<sup>2</sup>

II. Pet. III. 17. . . . bi errour of vnwijsse men, falle away fro youre owne *sadnesse*.

In the second class, which is made up of words obsolete both in form and meaning, we have such examples as *aisel*, vinegar; *arettide*, reckoned; *anentis*, with; *chawcers*, shoes; *clepe*, call; *contakes*, reproaches; *dyteris*, writers; *eft-soone*,

<sup>1</sup> These examples are from the *Earlier version*. See Forshall and Madden's ed. *in loco*.

<sup>2</sup> This from the *Later version*. *Ibid*, *in loco*.

again; *egre*, sour or sharp; *faage*, flatter; *grees*, steps or stairs; *heriyng*, praising; *herbore*, lodging; *hestis*, commands, though the word lives in *behest*; *hyne*, laborer; *kitte*, cut; *knytchis*, bundles; *lepis*, baskets; *mawmetis*, idols; *querne*, mill; *rewme*, kingdom; *rochet*, cloak; *scot*, payment, though it lives in *scot-free*; *sotheli*, truly; *thilke*, that; *thral*, servant or slave, though the word lives in *thralldom*; *wed*, a pledge, though it lives in *wedding*; *wonne*, custom; this change, however, is only in form, as it is the same as *wont*; *woot*, know.

While the Wycliffite versions were translated from the Latin Vulgate, and in many instances may be obscure, yet not a few passages might be cited to show the possible influence of these versions upon subsequent translations. Passages also are not wanting which show a superiority in rendering over more recent translations. Something of this superiority and influence will appear in the following passages from Forshall and Madden's Wycliffite versions:

Matt. VII. 14. How *streit* is the gate and *narewe* the weye, that ledith to lijf, and there ben fewe that fynden it.<sup>1</sup> This reading is followed by Tyndale and the A. V.

XVI. 22. And Petre took hym, and bigan to blame him, and seide, *Fer be it fro thee, Lord*; this thing schal not be to thee.<sup>2</sup> The Genevan version reads: *Master, looke to thy self*; and in Tyndale's version the reading is: *Master, fave thy selfe*. The A. V. reads after Wycliffe: *Be it farre from thee Lord*.

John III. 3. . . . Treuli, treuli, I seye to thee, no *but* a man schal be born *agen*, he may not se the kyngdom of God.<sup>3</sup> Tyndale reads: *except* a man be boren a *neue*; while the Genevan version has: *begotten againe*. The A. V. follows Wycliffe. Though possibly Tyndale furnishes the preferable reading.

IV. 23. But the our cometh, and now it is, whanne trewe worschiperis schulen worschipe the fader in spirit and treuthe; forwhi and the *fadir sekith suche*, that

<sup>1</sup> Earlier version.

<sup>2</sup> Later version.

<sup>3</sup> Earlier version.

- John IV. 23. schulen worschipe him.<sup>1</sup> This is followed by the A. V. But Tyndale has: *requyareth such*; and is followed by the Genevan version.
- Rom. VIII. 15. . . . but ye han taken the *spirit of adopcioun of sones*.<sup>2</sup> This is followed by Tyndale, the Genevan version, and the A. V. But in common with Wycliffe, they are all indebted to the Vulgate.
- XII. 1. . . . that ye gyue youre bodies a *lyuynge sacrifice*.<sup>3</sup> This is followed by the A. V. But Tyndale renders: *aquicke sacrifice*; which is adopted by the Genevan version.
- I. Cor. II. 10. . . . the *depe thingis of God*.<sup>4</sup> Tyndale translates: *the bottome of God's secretes*. Wycliffe's rendering is followed by the A. V.
- X. 16. *The cuppe of blessinge the which we blessen*. This is followed by Tyndale, also by the Genevan and the Authorized versions.
- II. Cor. VI. 14. . . . or what *felowship* of light to derknessis? This rendering is adopted by the A. V. Tyndale has: *company*; and is followed by the Genevan version. The Vulgate has: *societas*, showing that in this instance Wycliffe was not indebted to the Vulgate.
- VIII. 1. But, britheren, we *maken* knowun to you the grace of God. This reading is preferable to that of Tyndale, who translates: *I do you to wit* brethren; and is followed by the Genevan and Authorized versions. In the time of Tyndale and even when our present translation was made, the word *do* was used in the sense of *make*, and *to wit* in the sense of *to know*; hence the phrase at the time was intelligible though now obsolete.
- James I. 5. . . . and *cpbraydith* not. This is followed by the Authorized version. Tyndale translates; and *casteth no man in the teth*; which is followed by the Genevan version.

The above passages and others that might be added, look

<sup>1</sup> *Earlier version.*

<sup>2</sup> *Earlier and Latin versions.*

<sup>3</sup> *Later version.*

<sup>4</sup> This with the remaining examples, belongs in common to both versions.

very much as though there was an intimate relation between the Wycliffite versions and subsequent translations of the New Testament. But as this is questionable the matter will come up for consideration in another connection.<sup>1</sup>

There is an important relation existing between Vernacular versions of the Scriptures and the languages into which they are translated. So marked is this influence where such translation is made, that it constitutes an epoch in the literary and in the religious history of a people. "The translation of the Bible into Latin," says Schlegel, "created an epoch altogether new in that language, constituting a late and, in some instances, a rich after-crop of Latin literature."<sup>2</sup> When Jerome in the fourth century translated the Bible into Latin, he little knew the religious authority, power, and dignity he thereby was bestowing upon the Latin tongue. He endowed it not only with a religious but a literary influence that is felt to this day.

What is true of the Latin is likewise true of the German language. Luther's translation of the Bible lies at the foundation of German literature as well as the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Schlegel speaks with authority when he says: "It is remarkable that no other modern tongue has adopted so many Biblical terms and phrases, and introduced them into common language. My own opinion quite coincides with that of the critics who hold this circumstance to be most felicitous, to which I think I am justified in ascribing some portion of that continuous intellectual energy, life and simplicity, which preeminently characterize the diction of our most distinguished German writers."<sup>3</sup>

Now what Latin and German versions did for their respective languages, English versions of the Bible have done for the English tongue. It was a bold stroke on the part of

<sup>1</sup> See on pages 126, 127, below.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Literature*, p. 142. Bohn's edition. London, 1873.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 339.

Wycliffe to set forth the Scriptures in the language of the people, but the results far exceeded his fondest expectations. In all simplicity he thought to give the word of God to his own age, but in fact he laid the foundation for the Reformation in England, and for the permanence and excellence of the English language. To understand the influence of the Wycliffite manuscript versions upon the religion of those times, as well as years afterwards, we have but to trace the history of the Lollards from the age of Wycliffe to that of Tyndale. For in this history of almost a century and a half, we shall find that the religious life of the persecuted Lollards was based upon these Wycliffite versions of the Holy Scriptures. Even in the closing years of this period, in the reign of Henry VIII., it was adjudged a crime to read or possess the Scriptures in the English tongue. One of the charges against Richard Hunn, who suffered martyrdom in 1514, was "the keypyng diuers Englishe bookes, prohibited and dampned by the law; as the Apocalips in Englishe, Epistles and Gospels in Englishe, Wickleffe's dampnable workes, and other bookes conteynynge infinite errours, in the whiche hee hath bene long tyme accustomed to read, teach, and study dayly."<sup>1</sup> So in the case of James Brewster, who was burned at the stake in 1511. One of the items against him was the "hauing a certaine litle booke of Scripture in Englishe of an old writyng almost worne for age, whose name is not there expressed."<sup>2</sup> Likewise William Swetyng, who suffered martyrdom with Brewster, was charged with "having much conference with one William Man of Boxstede, in a booke, which was called Mathewe."<sup>3</sup> These Wycliffite versions are the visible links which connect the Reformation of the sixteenth with that of the fourteenth century. "Wickliffe is the greatest English reformer," says D'Aubigne, "he was in truth the first reformer of Christendom, and to him, under God, Britain is indebted for the honor of being the foremost in the attack

<sup>1</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 931, 1596.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 944.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 944.

upon the theocratic system of Gregory VII. The work of the Waldenses, excellent as it was, cannot be compared to his. If Luther and Calvin are the fathers of the Reformation, Wicliffe is its grandfather."<sup>1</sup> Yea, so long as Protestantism means, separation between Church and State, hatred of spiritual hierarchies, the love of Jesus Christ in the heart, and the love of his word in the language of the people, the name of John Wycliffe will stand the first among its founders, and the chief among its supporters.

If there was in the time of Wycliffe a revival of the Teutonic in opposition to the Latin in religion, so there was in language. And if the influence of the former reached forward into the centuries, even into the sixteenth century, so likewise did the influence of the latter. And in both cases the influences were kept alive and extended by means of these old, brown, and much used manuscripts of the Wycliffite versions. True, Wycliffe wrote much in Latin. It was the learned language of his times, and he used it in addressing the learned. But in addressing the people, whether in writing or speaking or in translating the Bible, he used the language of the people. The reign of Edward III. was a transition period, to which may be traced a new beginning of intellectual life and activity. It was this Edward who enacted, about the year 1362, that the English language should be restored to the courts, that is, "that all pleas . . . in any courts whatsoever, . . . shall be pleaded, showed, defended, answered, debated, and judged, in the English tongue." The reason for this action was assigned in the preamble that, "the French tongue was too much unknown."<sup>2</sup> This was a grand step in advance, favoring the people's rights, for as yet the French was the polite language, but not understood by the mass of the people. Trevisa, who wrote in 1385, records that

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, V., 104. Am. Tr. Soc. edition.

<sup>2</sup> The original statute was in old French. See *History English Language*; *Appendix*, p. cxxiv.; Johnson and Todd's *English Dictionary*, I. London, 1818.

in his day: "in alle the gramer scoles of Englonð children leveth Frensch and construeth and lerneth an Englisch, and haveth therby avauntage in oon side and desavauntage in another."<sup>1</sup> The advantage, according to Trevisa, was that they learned their lessons more easily; and the disadvantage was that they acquired no French. He further adds: "also gentel men haveth now mych ylefte for to teche her (their) children Frensch."<sup>2</sup> The name of John Cornwaile, "a maistre of grammer," who introduced this innovation, deserves to be held in grateful remembrance by all lovers of the English tongue. Sir John Maundeville, 1356, wrote his travels in Latin. But afterwards he translated them into English, to the end, as he says in his prologue, "that every man of my nation may understand it; and that lords and knights and other noble and worthy men that know Latin but little, and have been beyond the sea, may know and understand, if I err from defect of memory, and may redress it and amend it."<sup>3</sup>

The Teutonic leaven has been at work, though we may not be able to trace it, so gradual has been the intellectual improvement of the people. Langland, the author of *Piers' Ploughman's Vision and Creed*, which were written about the year 1365, was not a "precursor of Wycliffe," though in spirit and feeling he was a reformer. In his poem, which is highly allegorical, and sometimes very plain and practical, he mourns the abuses of the Church, rebukes the religious orders, and ridicules the palpable weaknesses of the friars. The fat friar he describes as—<sup>4</sup>

A greet chori and a grym, growen as a tonne,  
With a face so fat, as a ful bleddere,  
Blowen bretful of breth, and a bagge honged.

<sup>1</sup> Tyrwhitt's *Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer*.  
*Chaucer's Works, Preface*, p. 17. Oxford, 1798.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Maundeville's *Travels*, p. 129, Bohn's ed. London, 1848.

<sup>4</sup> Warton's *History of English Poetry*, I., 305. London, 1714.

On bothen his chekes, and his chyn, with a chol (jole) lollede  
 So greet a gos ey, growen al of grece,  
 That al wagged his fleish, as a quick (quag) mire.

. . . . .

"The people who could listen with delight to such strains were far advanced," says Milman, "towards a revolt from Latin Christianity."<sup>1</sup> Langland adopted the alliterative form of Saxon poetry. His language is largely Saxon, though interspersed with Norman words, some of which were already a part and parcel of the language, while others "appear like strangers." His Latin words seem to have been drawn directly from the Vulgate.<sup>2</sup> What is true of Langland in respect to language is true also of Wycliffe. They both wrote for the people. Chaucer in his writings sought to please the court, and yet, to his enduring fame, preferred "to show his fantasies in such wordes as we learneden of our dames tongues." And as a matter of fact, after an etymological comparison by actual count, Marsh declares that "Chaucer's vocabulary is more purely Anglo-Saxon than that of Langland."<sup>3</sup> Though Wycliffe's language was no purer than that of these cotemporary poets; and though he did no more than they to fix the language in its then English mould, yet we must attribute to him the greater influence, since, in addition to his writings he translated the Holy Scriptures, which became the book of the household. A book most sacredly kept and religiously read; a book whose teachings were treasured up in the hearts of parents and taught to their children. And all this not for a single generation, but for generations even to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

This chapter would be incomplete without a few words respecting the character of John Wycliffe. It is painful to witness the low estimate put upon the man and the reformer

<sup>1</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, VIII., 384. New York, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 378.

<sup>3</sup> *Lectures on the English Language*, p. 124. New York, 1860.



by some Church historians. From several paragraphs of Milner's Church History, one is led to think that there is something dark and inexplicable hanging over Wycliffe's character; yet in other paragraphs he does him full justice. Evidently Milner, in his attempt to be impartial, has gone to the other extreme. He confesses that the character of no other public man had given him so much trouble in forming his estimate as that of Wycliffe. We are indebted to the enemies of Wycliffe for much of our information concerning him, and it may be that Mr. Milner suffered their testimony to bias his judgment. In some degree the same is true of Mosheim. He failed, however, to make the character of Wycliffe a subject of careful study. Consequently, he expresses himself, if not carelessly, at least unsatisfactorily. But it remained for Neander, the prince of Church historians, to do justice to Wycliffe's character. In seeking, however, to set forth the facts concerning Huss and the Hussite movement, that it was independent of Wycliffe's influence, his statements are very fair, though not altogether convincing. The more, however, the history of the age is searched into, and the public acts of Wycliffe scanned, the better his character will be understood, and the nobler it will appear. This was doubtless the experience of D'Aubigne in writing the history of the Reformation, and with an honest pen he drew the character of John Wycliffe. It is refreshing likewise to read Milman's chapter on Wycliffe in his History of Latin Christianity. Yet even Milman, with all his high appreciation, declares that as a reformer Wycliffe was premature. That he possessed the power to pull down but not to build up. True, Wycliffe spent the greater part of his life in breaking down the barriers and clearing away political as well as religious rubbish; and of his success in these particulars let his enemies bear witness. But this was only a part of his work, for it was he who set in motion a positive evangelistic movement, which flowed like a majestic river, growing deeper if not wider, and forming a grand channel for the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Intellectually Wycliffe stood first among his cotemporaries.

His superiority was acknowledged by both Parliament and University. Even the pope felt his power. Of Wycliffe's moral character there is but one opinion, and that is, that it was irreproachable. A member of a brilliant but sensual court, whose chief head set the worst possible example of immorality, yet Wycliffe was untainted. He was there as chaplain of Edward III., and commanded the respect and reverence of all. It would be gratifying to know more of the social life of Wycliffe. History never wearies of placing him before us as a warrior steel-clad and mounted for battle. We see him always in public, never in private; even in his own writings he is reticent respecting himself. Was there no retirement for him? Was there never a smile upon that sad countenance? His face so narrow and pale, yet beneficent; how different from the round ruddy face of Luther. In many respects how different from Luther. The one is like a Gothic castle, with commanding towers and high walls, without any signs of life; while the other is like an ordinary dwelling, with its interior every-day life activities all exposed to view. We have no table-talk of Wycliffe. It is only by inference that we know that he had a home. Notwithstanding this, Wycliffe had his friends. At the court of Edward III. he met with Chaucer, and in him doubtless found a genial spirit. Wycliffe was Chaucer's ideal of a good priest, and doubtless Chaucer had the parson of Lutterworth in mind when he wrote:<sup>1</sup>

A good man ther was of religioun,  
 That was a poure PERSONE of a toun :  
 But riche he was of holy thought and werk.  
 He was also a lerned man, a clerk,  
 That Cristes gospel trewely wolde preche.  
 His parishens devoutly wolde he teche.  
 Benigne he was—and wonder diligent,  
 And in adversite ful patient :

. . . . .

Wide was his parish, and houses fer asonder,  
 But he ne left nought for no rain ne thonder,

<sup>1</sup> *The Canterbury Tales*, I., 20, 21, Tyrwhitt's ed. Oxford, 1798.

In sikenesse and in mischief to visite  
 The ferrest in his parish, moche and lite,  
 Upon his fete, and in his hand a staf.  
 This noble ensample to his shepe he yaf,  
 That first he wrought, and afterward he taught.

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

He sette not his benefice to hire,  
 And lette his shepe acombred in the mire,  
 And ran unto London, unto Seint Poules,  
 To seken him a chanterie for soules,  
 Or with a brotherhede to be withold:  
 But dwelt at home, and kepte wel his fold,  
 So that the wolf ne made it not miscarie.  
 He was a shepherd, and no mercenarie.  
 And though he holy were, and vertuuous,  
 He was to sinful men not dispitous (angry),  
 Ne of his speche dangerous (sparing), ne digne (proud),  
 But in his teching discrete and benigne.  
 To drawen folk to heven, with fairenesse,  
 By good ensample, was his besinesse:

. . . . .  
 . . . . .

A better preest I trowe that nowher non is.  
 He waited after no pompe ne reverence,  
 Ne maked him no spiced conscience,  
 But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,  
 He taught, but first he folwed it himselve.

If Wycliffe was Chaucer's ideal of a good parson, doubtless Chaucer was Wycliffe's ideal of a good poet. Chaucer sang to please the ear of a pleasure-loving court; he sang also to please the ear of a gospel-loving Wycliffe. Chaucer dealt heavy blows against the friars. The religious influence of Chaucer's poetry in the reform movement of his time has been too little appreciated. Among his political friends Wycliffe numbered such men as the Duke of Lancaster. But it was at his parish at Lutterworth, where, surrounded by his parishioners and by learned men in his own house and at his own table, fellow-laborers with himself in translating the Scriptures and preaching the Gospel, notable men who afterwards became leaders

in the Lollard party which Wycliffe founded, among these he found true sympathy and a lasting friendship. But with all this, at Lutterworth, we have only his fervent words addressed through his tracts and sermons to the public, consequently nothing of his private conversations or feelings.

As we have no particulars of Wycliffe's private life, so we have scarcely any of his death. We are told that while administering the Lord's Supper in the chapel at Lutterworth he was seized with paralysis, which "deprived him at once of utterance, if not of consciousness."<sup>1</sup> This was on the twenty-ninth, or, more probably, the thirtieth day of December, 1384, and in two days afterwards his devout spirit returned to God who gave it. If we would know of the excessive hatred heaped upon the head of Wycliffe, and of the debt of gratitude his friends in every age owe to his memory, we have only to read the following account of his death, written by the hand of an enemy: "On the day of St. Thomas the martyr, . . . December 29, . . . John Wyclif, the organ of the Devil, the enemy of the Church, the confusion of the common people, the idol of heretics, the looking-glass of hypocrites, the encourager of schism, the sower of hatred, and the maker of lies, when he designed, as it is reported, to belch out accusations and blasphemies against St. Thomas in the sermon he had prepared for that day, was suddenly struck by the judgment of God, and had all his limbs seized with palsy, . . . his tongue was speechless, . . . shewing plainly that the curse which God had thundered forth against Cain was also inflicted on him."<sup>2</sup> However great the dishonor and indignity intended by his enemies, these words, from the standpoint of his friends, must ever be regarded, considering their source, as a most honorable epitaph.

<sup>1</sup> Vaughan's *Tracts and Treatises of Wycliffe*, p. xciii. London, 1845.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis' *Life of Dr. John Wycliffe*, pp. 123, 124. Oxford, 1820.

## CHAPTER III.

### TYNDALE, AND HIS TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. A. D. 1525.

IN the time of Wycliffe, England held an enviable position among the nations of Europe. The Teutonic love of freedom here first came to the surface; but it was stifled so far as human effort could avail, and then followed a period of more than a century of intellectual darkness. In Italy and Germany there arose with the art of printing an intellectual awakening. The Greek and Latin languages were cultivated. Under Pope Nicolas V., 1447-1454, the city of Rome became more literary than religious. "He seemed determined," says Milman, "to enrich the West with all that survived of Grecian literature."<sup>1</sup> Besides, his efforts were not confined to the classics, but embraced the writings of the Church fathers. He even went so far as to authorize the execution of a new Latin version of the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek. Pope Nicolas was not aware of the fire he was kindling, nor the distance to which its light and heat would penetrate. He did not dream of the intimate relation of the revival of learning with Vernacular versions of the Holy Scriptures and the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Printing was introduced into England by William Caxton about the year 1474, and its influence was soon felt. A Latin translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* was among the first issues from the Caxton press. It is said that Cornelius Vitelli, an educated Italian, came to Oxford in 1488, and not only taught in the University but became the instructor of William Grocyn. However this may be, Grocyn, though a reputed Greek scholar,

<sup>1</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, VIII., 123. New York, 1874.

quitted his lectureship of Divinity and went to Italy to perfect his knowledge of the Greek language, and after remaining three years returned and taught Greek in Exeter College, Oxford. He introduced a new pronunciation, and so popularized the study that it gave rise to the two factions in the University known as the Greeks and Trojans, who bore the most violent animosities towards each other. But the day has dawned, and learning is in the highest repute. The first visit of Erasmus to England was in 1497. He praises not only Grocyn, but Colet, Linacre, and More. He says that he found in England "a treasure of old books," and the highest appreciation of learning.<sup>1</sup> In such estimation was learning held at this time that even Henry VIII. sighed for it, and was ready to turn from the pursuits of pleasure, and the labors of diplomacy, for its sake. His words were: "Ah! how I should like to be a scholar." Not only did Henry VIII. sigh for learning, and Cardinal Woolsey affect it; but there were some who really possessed it.

As yet, however, the revival of learning is only intellectual. The single example of Dr. Thomas Linacre, whom Erasmus praises so highly, illustrates this fact. He was president of the College of Physicians, and a reputed scholar. Late in life he changed his profession to that of Divinity, yet so ignorant was he of the Scriptures, that after he was ordained as a priest he took up the New Testament, and after reading the fifth and sixth chapters of Matthew's Gospel, he threw down the book, exclaiming: "Either this is not the Gospel, or we are not Christians."<sup>2</sup> Another remarkable example was that of Sir Thomas More, a man of superior ability and attainments, an acknowledged wit, a safe counselor, a just judge, a friend and a defender of Greek learning, a Christian man, and yet withal an extreme papist, opposing with all his might and official power the progress of the Reformation and the circulation of the Vernacular Scriptures. The character of More, as

<sup>1</sup> Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, I., 241. New York, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> Townley's *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, II., 165. London, 1821.

a papist and a persecutor, is the more difficult to understand in the light of his great sincerity and Christian simplicity, and still more when we consider his previous liberal sentiments. He was a decided friend of the New learning so long as it confined itself to the classics, though at first he openly defended the New Testament of Erasmus. He was in sympathy with the author of the *Praise of Folly*, and must have enjoyed his sarcastic thrusts at the Monastic orders, since Erasmus was his guest when he wrote this book. Then the liberal opinions of More are distinctly revealed in his *Utopia*. "In that short but extraordinary Book," says Burnet, "he gave his Mind full Scope, and considered Mankind and Religion with the Freedom that became the true Philosopher. By many Hints it is very easy to collect, what his Thoughts were of Religion, of the Constitutions, and of the Church, and of the Clergy at that time."<sup>1</sup> But in all how changed. Those who have attempted to delineate the character of Sir Thomas More have been in doubt whether to represent him as "a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man."

But learning the most extensive and profound is not an end in itself, but a means to a higher end. And the end at this time was religious reformation. And it is the learned name of Erasmus which links this intellectual movement with the Holy Scriptures and the Protestant Reformation. This grand end, and his noble contribution to it, is well described by himself when he says: "A spiritual temple must be raised in desolate Christendom, the mighty in the world will contribute towards it their ivory, their marble, and their gold; I, who am poor and humble, offer the foundation stone." This foundation-stone was none other than his Greek and Latin New Testament. And well might he thus designate it, since it was the Scriptures, and only the Scriptures, that could form a substan-

<sup>1</sup> The first edition of the *Utopia* contained many passages ridiculing the folly and ill-nature of the friars, which were left out of later editions. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, III., 29. 1715.

tial foundation for the building up of the faith of a Reformed Christianity. The Greek Testament of Erasmus was collated from all the MSS. he could obtain. The text thus formed he printed together with a Latin translation. It appeared at Basle in 1516, and was the first Greek New Testament published in print.<sup>1</sup> Transported across the channel, it was received into England with enthusiasm, and was offered for sale in the book-stalls of London, Oxford, and Cambridge. The friends of the New learning were delighted, but the hierarchy was alarmed. "The priests saw the danger," says D'Aubigne, "and by a skilful manœuvre, instead of finding fault with the Greek Testament, attacked the translation and the translator."<sup>2</sup> They cried out: "He has corrected the Vulgate, and puts himself in the place of St. Jerome.... Look here! this book calls upon men to *repent*, instead of requiring them, as the Vulgate does, to *do penance*."<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding this opposition, edition after edition was called for, and accordingly it was reprinted in 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. This Greek and Latin Testament of Erasmus was a preparatory step towards a Vernacular version of the New Testament; and this was his desire. In his preface he says: "I differ exceedingly from those who object to the Scriptures being translated into the vernacular tongues, and read by the illiterate; as if Christ had taught so obscurely, that none could understand him but a few theologians; or as if the Christian religion depended upon being kept secret. The mysteries of kings ought, perhaps, to be concealed, but the mystery of Christ strenuously urges publication. .... And I wish that the Scriptures might be translated into all languages, ... (that) the husbandman might

<sup>1</sup> *The Complutensian Polyglott* of Cardinal Ximenes did not appear till 1522, though the *New Testament* was printed in 1514, and the *Old Testament* in 1517. But the consent of the pope for their publication was not granted till 1520. See Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, I., 292. New York, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Reformation*, V., 155, Am. Tr. Soc. edition. New York. N. D.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 155.



repeat them at his plough, the weaver sing them at his loom.

... *Letters*, written by those we love and esteem, are preserved and prized, . . . and yet there are thousands of Christians who . . . never once, in the whole of their life, read the books containing the *Gospels* and *Epistles*.”<sup>1</sup>

The wish of Erasmus was fulfilled, but not through his direct agency. The storm of opposition gathered as he did not anticipate. From a literary standpoint he thought to harmonize the conflicting elements and gradually reform the abuses of the papacy. Erasmus was a professed papist, yet a leader in the party of the New learning up to a certain point. He was friendly to the work of Reformation under Luther, yet was unwilling to break with the pope. He sought a middle course, which proved displeasing to both extremes. He called Luther his dear friend and brother, and at the same time wrote flattering letters to the pope. And yet neither Wycliffe or Luther sent forth such broadsides of wit and sarcasm against the Romish priests. But Erasmus was not a reformer. He had no taste for martyrdom. He could retreat from the storm of battle he had helped to raise, but he could not fight; and in 1517 he was compelled so to do. His Greek Testament, however, remained notwithstanding the attempts to banish it the kingdom. Archbishop Lee, from a professed friend of Erasmus became his open enemy, and was indefatigable in his efforts to prepare “a prison for Erasmus, (and) the fire for the Holy Scriptures.”<sup>2</sup> But while the enemy raged his New Testament was eagerly sought after, and as eagerly read. Another attack was made by Bishop Standish. Single-handed, and with more zeal than knowledge, he made a desperate attack. From the pulpit of St. Paul's Cathedral he appealed to the mayor and corporation of London. In the midst of his sermon he cried out: “Away with these new translations or else the religion of Jesus Christ is threatened

<sup>1</sup> Townley's *Biblical Literature*, II., 265. London, 1821.

<sup>2</sup> “If we do not stop this leak,” said Lee in referring to Erasmus' New Testament, “it will sink the ship.”—D'Aubigne's *History of the Reformation*, V., 159.

with utter ruin. . . . My lord, magistrates of the city, and citizens all, fly to the succour of religion.”<sup>1</sup> This empty harangue was a failure; but he will appeal to the king. The story is told by Erasmus himself, and the scene was worthy of his pen. The royal family, with invited guests, were in the midst of a social rejoicing when the good bishop, making his way through the gay crowd, prostrated himself before the king and queen. All were amazed, and wondered what the old bishop could mean. “Great king,” he cried, “your ancestors who have reigned over this island, and yours, O great queen, who have governed Aragon, were always distinguished by their zeal for the Church. Show yourselves worthy of your forefathers. Times full of danger are come upon us, a book has just appeared, and been published too by Erasmus ! it is such a book that, if you close not your kingdom against it, it is all over with the religion of Christ among us.” The bishop ceased for a moment, and then raising his eyes and hands towards heaven, exclaimed in a sorrowful tone: “O Christ! O Son of God! save thy spouse! . . . for no man cometh to her help.” The bishop acted his part well; Henry VIII. was embarrassed, and Queen Catherine was deeply affected; and had the scene closed here, the appeal possibly might not have been in vain. But the chief actor, thinking that he had won the judgment of the king and the sympathy of the queen, waited that he might depart in triumph. But the scene changes; that which was just now so serious becomes most ludicrous. Sir Thomas More, the friend of Erasmus, and a great admirer of his Latin translation of the Greek Testament, was present, and breaking the silence calmly inquired: “What are the heresies this book is likely to engender?” The bishop, seeking to keep up the dramatic dignity of the scene, “with the forefinger of his right hand, touching successively the fingers of his left,” enumerated one by one the heresies; “First, this book,” he said, “destroys *the resurrection*; secondly, it annuls *the sacrament of marriage*; thirdly, it abolishes *the mass*.” Then, uplifting his

<sup>1</sup> D'Aubigne's *History of the Reformation*, V., 171, 172

thumb and two fingers, "he showed them to the assembly with a look of triumph." But the friends of learning called for "the proof, the proof." The poor old man, still full of courage and elated by success, attempts the proofs, but they are so weak that his friends blush for him. Henry VIII. in disgust turns away. The bishop, greatly chagrined, withdraws.<sup>1</sup> The New learning triumphs, and in its triumph Protestantism and the New Testament of Erasmus rejoice.

But this Greek and Latin Testament was but a preparatory step to something better. It must needs be translated into the language of the people. This was the desire of Erasmus, but the purpose of Tyndale. A purpose not to be fulfilled excepting through opposition, danger, exile and final martyrdom. The story of Tyndale's life and of his translation of the New Testament into English, is one. There were successive steps in the life of John Wycliffe, which both fitted and unfitted him for the work of translating the Bible. How long he meditated the design we do not know; but he did not execute it till the close of his eventful life. It was otherwise with William Tyndale. The purpose to translate the Holy Scriptures was the one purpose and the one work of his life. No name in the whole history of Vernacular versions deserves such prominence as that of William Tyndale. Our common English Bible of to-day is so largely indebted to Tyndale's translation that all who love their English Bible will unite in honoring the memory of William Tyndale, who suffered expatriation and martyrdom for the sake of giving to his countrymen the New Testament in their own tongue.

William Tyndale was born, most probably, in 1484, in Gloucestershire, in the village of North Nibley. The obscurity which hangs over the family relations of Tyndale, arises from the fact, that he lived in times of persecution, and hence his reticence lest he should involve his relations in his own troubles. He was early sent to Oxford, and studied

<sup>1</sup> D'Aubigne's *History of the Reformation*, V., 172, 173.

grammar, logic and philosophy in Magdalene Hall. Foxe, the martyrologist and chief biographer of Tyndale, records that Tyndale was brought up in the University of Oxford, that he increased in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, and especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures. Also that he privately read lectures in Divinity to the students, and instructed them in the Holy Scriptures. But "spying hys tyme," he removed to the University of Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> Tyndale's motive for going to Cambridge is not known. Some conjecture that it was on account of his liberal opinions; while others, with more reason, perhaps, suppose that it was his desire to study Greek under Erasmus, who about this time, 1509-1514, was professor of Greek at Cambridge.<sup>2</sup> But the New Testament of Erasmus was shortly to do a greater work for the students of Cambridge than Erasmus himself. Thomas Bilney, a young Cambridge doctor, read it, at first, more for the elegance of its Latinity than for its religious teaching. But when at length his eyes fell upon the words: This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief. His heart was touched. "I also am like Paul," he cried, "and more than Paul the greatest of sinners!..... But Christ saves sinners. .... I see it all, my vigils, my fasts, my pilgrimages, my purchase of masses and indulgences were destroying instead of saving me."<sup>3</sup> Tyndale met with Bilney. They opened the New Testament together. They also read it to their fellow students. Here also Tyndale met with John Fryth, who already was distinguished for his scholarship and integrity of life. Fryth, through the influence of Tyndale, became a converted man, and afterwards became his associate in the work of translation. Fryth was well read in mathematics, Bilney in the canon law, and Tyndale in the learned

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1224.

<sup>2</sup> *Fuller's Church History of Britain. History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 87. London, 1655. Fuller in this connection says, that Erasmus also "took upon him the Divinity Professors place."

<sup>3</sup> D'Aubigne's *History of the Reformation*, V., 163, 164.

languages. These three young men associated themselves together, and strengthened each other's hands in the work of reading the New Testament and preaching the Gospel of repentance to their fellow students.

After Tyndale's departure from Cambridge we next hear of him as a tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh, of Gloucestershire. "This Gentleman," says Foxe, "as hee kept a good ordinarie commonly at his table, there resorted to hym many times sondry Abbots, Deanes, Archdeacons, with other diuers Doctors and great beneficed men ; who there together with M. Tyndall sitting at the same table, did use many tymes to enter communication and talke of learned men, as of Luther and of Erasmus. Also diuers other controuersies and questions upon the Scripture. . . . . And when as they at any tyme did varye from Tyndall in opinions and judgement, he would shewe them the booke and lay playnly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their erours, and to confirme his sayinges. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasonyng and contending together diuers and sundry tymes, till at length they waxed very, and bare a secret grudge in their hartes agaynst hym."<sup>1</sup>

Foxe enters minutely into the history of Tyndale's life while he remained in the family of Sir J. Walsh. At first, through the influence of Lady Walsh, the family inclined to the views of the learned and rich doctors, for there were among them those that could spend their *three hundred pounds*, a very large sum, since in modern values it stands as one to fifteen, and it was not reasonable, according to her protest, that she should listen to Tyndale, a poor tutor, in preference to these rich doctors. However, after Tyndale had translated the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus, a book which exposed the ceremonial observances of the Romish Church, he gave it to Sir John and his lady to read. The book had the desired influence. The family became more friendly to Tyndale, and more estranged from the Romish doctors. Whereupon the

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1225.

latter were enraged, and "began to grudge and storme against Tyndall, rayling agaynst hym in ale houses and other places."<sup>1</sup> They finally accused Tyndale secretly before the chancellor. Tyndale's offense was that of driving them from the well filled tables of Sir John, and that he was a zealous preacher "about the town of Bristol, and in the said town in the common place called St. Austin's Green." When Tyndale was brought before the chancellor, though nothing was proved against him, yet the chancellor "threatened hym greuously, reuilyng and ratyng hym as though hee had been a dogge."<sup>2</sup> Foxe further relates a conversation, which occurred at this time, between Tyndale and a certain learned divine, who in anger burst forth, saying: "We were better to be without Gods law than the Popes." Tyndale with spirit replied: "I defie the Pope and all hys lawes;" and further added: "if God spared hym life, ere many yeares he would cause a boy that driueth the plough to know more of the Scripture, then he did."<sup>3</sup>

There is no positive evidence that Tyndale began the work of translating the New Testament while at the house of Walsh; but he has left words on record which show his state of mind at this period. He says: "Which thing only moved me to translate the New Testament. Because I had perceived by experience, how that it was impossible to establish the lay-people in any truth, except the scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother-tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text; for else, whatsoever truth is taught them, these enemies of all truth quench it again."<sup>4</sup> He labored much in preaching the Gospel while he stayed at this manor house, and it is to these labors, doubtless, he referred, when he wrote: "While I am sowing in one place, the enemy ravages the field I have just left. Oh, if Christians possessed the Holy Scriptures in their own tongue

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1225.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1225.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1225.

<sup>4</sup> Tyndale's *Works*, I., 394. Parker Soc. ed. Cambridge, 1848.

they could of themselves withstand these sophists." The rage of the priests increased, and as Foxe relates, Tyndale came to Sir John and said: "I perceave I shall not bee suffered to tarye long hire in this countrey, neither shal you be hable, though you would, to kepe me out of the handes of the spiritualitie, and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keypyng me."<sup>1</sup>

Thus driven away, Tyndale came to London, hoping to find a patron in Bishop Tonsal, since he remembered that Tonsal was highly extolled by Erasmus for his great learning. So long as the revival of learning confined itself to classic literature, Tonsal, like Sir Thomas More, was a friend of the movement; but since it was opening wide the door of Protestantism, he was no longer its friend. Consequently, in his house there was no place for Tyndale, though as an evidence of his scholarship Tyndale had sent him an oration of Isocrates which he had translated from the Greek into English.<sup>2</sup> But in Humphrey Monmouth, whom Foxe describes as "a right godly and sincere alderman of London," Tyndale found a friend and supporter, who received him into his own house for the space of six months. Here, doubtless, Tyndale applied himself to the work of translation. Monmouth's testimony respecting Tyndale, while he abode in his house, was that "he lyued lyke a good Priest, studying both night and day."<sup>3</sup> But the eye of the persecutor followed him to London. It is now the close of the year 1523. Tyndale has been in London almost a year, and can remain no longer. He says: "I . . . saw things whereof I defer to speak at this time, and understood at the last, not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England, as experience doth now openly declare."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Mon.*, p. 1225.

<sup>2</sup> Tyndale's *Works*, I., 395.

<sup>3</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1133.

<sup>4</sup> Tyndale's *Works*, I., 396. Parker Society edition. Cambridge, 1848.

Probably by Monmouth's advice, and certainly by his aid,<sup>1</sup> Tyndale crossed the sea to Hamburgh, that he might carry out his purpose of translating the New Testament. He landed at Hamburgh in May, 1524, and found the city in a state of great excitement. The burghers were united in opposition to all political usurpations, but they were divided as to their religious opinions. For three or four years the Reformation under Luther had been steadily advancing in Hamburgh. Here Tyndale found friends; and, assisted by his "faithful companion," he proceeded with the work of translation. And when this friend was called away,<sup>2</sup> he was aided by William Roye, "a friar observant of the Franciscan order at Greenwich." Tyndale describes him as "a man somewhat crafty, when he cometh unto new acquaintance. . . . Nevertheless, I suffered all things till that was ended, which I could not do alone without one, both to write and to help me to compare the texts together. When that was ended, I took my leave, and bade him farewell for our two lives, (and as men say) a day longer."<sup>3</sup> During Tyndale's short stay in Hamburgh, it is very possible that he finished the translations of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, which he printed separately; and that one or both of these made up the "little book" that Humphrey Monmouth confessed to have received from Tyndale in 1524.<sup>4</sup> Tyndale remained in Hamburgh till the beginning of the next year. That he went from here to Wittemburgh to confer with Luther, though asserted by Foxe, is very questionable. Sir Thomas More and other papists were anxious to make it appear that Tyndale was confederate with

<sup>1</sup> Humphrey Monmouth gave him an exhibition or annuity of ten pounds, sufficient, at this time, for the maintenance of a single man. The amount in present values would be about \$750. Lewis' *History of Eng. Translations*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Supposed to be his college associate, John Fryth, who afterwards suffered martyrdom at the stake in Smithfield. Or possibly the person meant may be George Joy.

<sup>3</sup> Tyndale's *Works*, I., 37, 38.

<sup>4</sup> Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, p. 29. London, 1862



Luther, hence the importance of this visit, and yet there is no positive evidence of it.<sup>1</sup>

Leaving Hamburgh, Tyndale with Roye arrived at Cologne in April, 1525. Cologne offered superior advantages for printing. The celebrated printers, Quentel and the Byrcmans were established here. But the city was one of the strongholds of the papacy. The Protestant movement had reached Cologne, but the principal effect had been to stir up a violent opposition to the Reformation. Tyndale, aware of this, takes obscure lodgings. When his manuscript was ready for the press, he was cautious in arranging with the printers for an edition of three thousand copies. The printing began in secret, and page after page was worked off from the press. Tyndale is overjoyed. But further disappointment awaits him. John Cochläus, a violent opposer of the Reformation, was at Cologne. He had dealings with Tyndale's printers. They met over the winecup, and Cochläus learns from them what they would not have revealed in their sober moments—that two Englishmen, skilled in the languages, were concealed in the city for the purpose of superintending the printing the New Testament in English, and that four score pages in quarto had already been struck off. Cochläus took immediate steps to inform the public authorities, and through an order from the senate the press was stopped. He likewise, by letters, warned Henry VIII. and his councilors, and directed them to give orders at every seaport to prevent the introduction of the baneful merchandise.<sup>2</sup> Anticipating any further action of the senate, Tyndale hastens to the printers, and securing his manuscript and the pages already printed, escapes the net of the fowler by fleeing the city. We next hear of Tyndale at Worms, where, without further opposition, he succeeds in his long cherished design. Two editions of his translation, an octavo and a quarto, were printed here, in the closing months of 1525. There has been much confusion as to the correct

<sup>1</sup> Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, pp. 24, 25, 26. London, 1862.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

date, though the year 1526 has been heretofore generally accepted as correct. "The first time," says Strype, "the Holy Scripture was printed in English . . . was about the Year 1526. And that was only the New Testament translated by *Tyndal*."<sup>1</sup> Le Long refers to the year 1526 as the positive date of the quarto edition. But Mr. Anderson thinks he makes a mistake of a whole year.<sup>2</sup> The introduction of these Testaments into England in the spring of 1526 would seem to favor the close of the year 1525 as the true date.

If possible, authorities have been more divided in respect to the place, than to the date, of printing these New Testaments. Some favor Wittenburgh, others Antwerp, while others more correctly fix upon Worms as the place of printing. This confusion arises from the fact that the books were published without either the name of the author, the place, or the date of the issue. Again, it has been an open question as to which was first printed, the quarto or the octavo edition. Mr. Offer, however, seems to have settled this question, quite satisfactorily, in favor of the octavo edition. The explanation seems to be, that while Tyndale intended the quarto edition should be the first printed, and so the work was actually begun at Cologne, yet, because it was interrupted and the English authorities were instructed particularly as to the character of the book issuing from the press at Cologne, he changed the form to an octavo, leaving out the prologues and glosses.<sup>3</sup> And yet, from some unknown reason, the quarto volumes, though last from the press, appeared in England quite as soon as those of the octavo edition, and were the first condemned by the public authorities, since the books that were condemned contained "prefaces and other pestylente gloses in the margentes." This appears in the reply of Henry VIII. to Luther, in which he charges Luther with being "in deuyce with one or two leude persons (referring to Tyndale and Roye) borne in this our

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, p. 81. London, 1694.

<sup>2</sup> *Anderson's Annals*, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 39.

realme, for the translatyng of the New testament in to Englysshe, as well with many corruptions of that holy text, as certayne prefaces, and other pestylente gloses in the margentes, for the aduauancement and setting forth of his aduocynable heresy,es, . . . . In the aduoydyng wherof, we of our espeçiall tendre zeale . . . . determyned the sayd and vntrue translatyons to be brenned, with further sharpp correction and punisshment against the kepars and reders of the same."<sup>1</sup>

So hot were the fires kindled by the king's "tendre zeal" that no entire copy of the quarto edition escaped the flames, so far as has been found. The only relic extant, contains the prologue to Matthew's Gospel, also a portion of the same Gospel, extending from the first chapter to the twelfth verse of the twenty-second chapter, inclusive. And it seems that this escaped by being bound up with a quarto tract of *Æcolampadius*. In this way it remained concealed for three hundred years; when it was discovered accidentally, and identified as a part of Tyndale's New Testament.<sup>2</sup> This fragment is now preserved in the Grenville collection in the British Museum; and has been photo-lithographed and reprinted in facsimile, both text and prologue, by Edward Arber. Of the octavo edition, there remains but one perfect copy,<sup>3</sup> which is most sacredly preserved in the library of the Baptist College, Bristol. Another, though imperfect, may be found in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.<sup>4</sup> The history of the Bristol copy may be traced back for a century or more, when it was in the Harleian library of Lord Oxford. Mr. John Murray, his collector, secured it, and as a reward, twenty pounds a year was settled upon him for life. On the

<sup>1</sup> As cited in Arber's *Preface. Photo-lithographed Fragment of Tyndale's N. T.*, p. 49. London, 1871. This letter of Henry VIII. was in answer to Luther's published letter to him, which was received in March, 1526.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson's *Annals*, pp. 36, 37.

<sup>3</sup> The title page is gone.

<sup>4</sup> Arber's *Preface, Photo-lithographed Fragment of Tyndale's N. T.*, p. 5.

death of Lord Oxford, 1741, Mr. Thomas Osborne purchased his library, and not being aware of the value of this volume, sold it to Mr. Ames for fifteen shillings. In 1760, when the Ames' books were sold, this New Testament brought fourteen guineas and a half. The volume contains the following note: "N.B. This choice book was purchased at Mr. Langford's sale, (Mr. Ames' books) 13th May, 1760, by me John Whyte; and on the 13th of May, 1776, I sold it to the Rev. Dr. Gifford for twenty guineas, the price first paid for it by the late Lord Oxford."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gifford bequeathed it to the Bristol Library in 1784.

The English merchants abroad who had to do with the introduction of these newly printed Testaments into England, were aware that the public authorities had been warned by Cochläus, and of the consequent difficulties to be overcome. But notwithstanding the impending dangers, five Hanseatic merchants took the precious books into their ships, and sailed for London. They expected to find the enemy on guard, but instead, the way was open and the books were landed and safely conveyed to the Merchants' warehouse in Thames Street.<sup>2</sup> If the enemy slept, the friends of the Bible were awake and expectant. Not only in London, but in Oxford and Cambridge, they anxiously awaited the coming of the newly printed English Testaments. The soil was prepared for the seed. For almost a hundred and fifty years this preparation had been going forward: so intimately allied was the close of the fourteenth with the beginning of the sixteenth century. The name of John Wycliffe was still fresh in the minds and hearts of his friends; neither was it forgotten by his enemies, for they still kept alive the fires of persecution so early kindled against his followers. Then these Lollards, or Broders in Christ, still preserved and read the old brown manuscripts of Wycliffe's New Testament. They were familiar also with religious tracts of his writing. Besides all this

<sup>1</sup> Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, p. 41. London, 1862.

<sup>2</sup> D'Aubigne's *History of the Reformation*, V., 264.

there was a more recent preparation which began with the revival of learning, and the publishing of Erasmus' Greek and Latin Testament. A movement which influenced the educated, not excepting those of the Universities. Finally, by way of preparation, the influence of Luther must not be forgotten, which was beginning to sweep like a great wave over England. Thus the way was fully prepared, and from the first the people received these newly printed Testaments joyfully, but, from necessity, secretly.

The first distributor of these Testaments was Thomas Garret, curate of Honey Lane, London. He was a plain man, timid in disposition, but bold in faith, whose preaching was an offense to the hierarchy but a joy to the people. From the Merchants' warehouse these New Testaments were taken to the house of Garret. Other places of deposit were afterwards found, but the "dark corners" of Garret's house were the first hiding places of these lights, which must soon light up all England. So there were others who afterwards engaged, at the risk of personal liberty, in distributing, by sale, these precious volumes, yet, as the story comes to us, Thomas Garret was the first to do, and the first to suffer. The books came into his possession, probably in the early part of the year 1526. He proceeds cautiously in his work, selling to priest and laymen alike, but in every case with a special charge: "that they wold kepe yt close." How the good news must have spread among these *Broders in Christ* that a printed New Testament in English could be bought of Thomas Garret, in Honey Lane, near Cheapside, "in the smal or biggest volume, for vii. or viii. grotes a pece."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robert Necton in his confession (made probably at London in 1528) says: "Vicar Constantyne at diuers tymes, had of this respondent about xv. or xvi. of the New Testaments of the biggest . . . That about the same tyme, he sold fyve of the said New Testaments to Sir William Furboshore synging man, in Stowmarket, in Suffolk, for vii or viii grotes a pece [2s. 4d. or 2s. 8d., equal to £1 15s. 0d. or £2 0s. 0d. now]." Accordingly the octavo copy would be worth in present values in American money \$8.75, and the quarto, \$10.00. Compare Arber's *Preface*, p. 43.

They loved their old brown manuscripts of "the iiii Evangelistes and certayn Epistles of Peter and Poule in Englishe," but now these are little regarded in comparison with this New Testament in print with its "cleyner Englishe."<sup>1</sup>

While Thomas Garret, Father Hacker and others are diligent in distributing these Testaments in London, Cambridge, and other places, the hierarchy is on the alert. It has examined these books and has determined to condemn them, and all such persons as have to do with them. Bishop Tonstal, by the advice of Cardinal Wolsey, sent forth an injunction to the archdeacons of his diocese, under date of October 24, 1526, for the calling in of New Testaments translated by Tyndale; enjoining, "that within xxx dayes space . . . . under payne of excommunication and incurring the suspicion of heresie, they do bryng in and really deliuer unto our vicare generall, all and singular such bokes as conteyne the translation of the new Testament in the Englishe tongue."<sup>2</sup>

About this time, in October or November, 1526, Bishop Tonstal preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, in which he told the people that there were three thousand errors in the translation. It was on this occasion, according to Arber, "that Tyndale's New Testaments were first officially denounced, and publicly *burnt*."<sup>3</sup> But that the people were not convinced

<sup>1</sup> John Tyball in his deposition made in April, 1528, says: "that at Mychaelmasse last past was twelve monethe, this respondent and Thomas Hilles came to London to Frear Barons, . . . to buy a New Testament in Englishe. . . . The sayd Thomas Hilles, and this respondent shewyd the Frear Barons of certayne old bookes that they had; as of iiii Evangelistes, and certyne Epistles of Peter and Poule in Englishe. Which bookes the sayd Frear dyd little regard, and made a twyte of it, and sayd, A poynt for them, for they be not to be regarded toward the new printed Testament in Englishe. For it is of more cleyner Englishe. And then the sayd Frear Barons delyverid to them the sayd New Testament in Englyshe; for which they payd iii s. ii d. (£1 12s. 6d.) and desyred them that they wold kepe yt close." Arber's *Preface*, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1157.

<sup>3</sup> Arber's *Preface*, p. 49.

by Tonsal's assertions, we have the testimony of John Lambert, who suffered martyrdom two years afterward, that he was at "Paules Crosse when the new Testament Imprinted of late beyond the Sea, was first forefended; (forbidden;) and truly my harte lamented greatly to heare a great man preachyng agaynst it, which shewed forth certaine thynges that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I, yea and not I, but lykewise did many other thincke verely to be none."<sup>1</sup> But if now the New Testaments of Tyndale are burned, for every book thus destroyed hundreds of others will arise from its ashes. Already Dutch printers have taken up the work of printing English Testaments as a commercial enterprise. Christopher Endhoven printed an edition in 1527, at Antwerp; two other editions by Ruremond followed in 1528, so that English Testaments became plentier and cheaper. The years 1527 and 1528 were remarkable for the large number of New Testaments imported into England. The authorities were perplexed. They decided to purchase all the books printed and thus stop their circulation. Accordingly Archbishop Warham sent forth his agents; and royal letters were sent to Hacket, the English envoy on the continent, to use every endeavor to get possession of English Testaments. So very successful were the archbishop's agents, that he lacked funds for their extensive purchases. Bishop Nix, in reply to the archbishop's letter soliciting aid, says: "Surely in myne opynion you have done therein a gracious and blessed dede." And that the "holle charge and coste" should not fall upon the archbishop, he contributed ten marks as his share, a sum equal to about five hundred dollars in present values.

But the inquisitors are not satisfied with books, they must have men. These Bible readers and New Testament distributors must be arrested and severely dealt with. In the diocese

<sup>1</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1273. The above is a part of his answer to the 26th article, viz.: "Whether I beleue that the heades or rulers by necessity of saluation, are bounde to geue unto the people, holy Scripture in theyr mother language?"

of London, and about Colchester, and other parts of Essex, these brethren were holding secret meetings for instructing "one another out of God's word."<sup>1</sup> And all this must be stopped. To do it a strict visitation was ordered. Tonsal in his wrath commanded that parties accused should be forced not only to criminate themselves but to implicate others. The Public Registers are filled with these cruel depositions. During this visitation, in the early part of the year 1527, Father Hacker, *alias* Ebb, a notable Lollard and Bible reader and teacher, who for the past six years had been going from house to house, reading and expounding the Scriptures, was arrested and compelled upon his oath to discover many of his friends and followers. A long list of the names of those thus detected, and the accusation against them, is recorded by Strype.<sup>2</sup>

In 1528, persecution began in earnest. Wolsey's agents abroad are instructed to search out and arrest Tyndale the chief doer in all this mischievous work. At home the prisons are already filled to the full with those whose only crime is that of reading the New Testament in English. As a striking picture of the times, exhibiting both the rage of the Romish Church and the fierceness of the State, the story of Thomas Garret's sufferings, as told by Anthony Dalaber, is most graphic and interesting. The facts were written out by Dalaber from memory in 1562, by the request of Mr. Foxe, who inserted them in the early editions of his *Acts and Monuments*. The story as given below is abridged from Foxe, and the spelling modernized:

"I, Anthony Dalaber, then scholar at Alborne Hall, who had books of M(aster) Garret, had been in my country, in Dorsetshire, at Stalbridge, where I had a brother Parson of that Parish, who was very desirous to have a Curate out of Oxford, . . . It was thought good among the brethren, . . . that M(aster) Garret, changing his name, should be sent . . . to serve him there for a time, until he might secretly from thence, convey

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials of the Reformation*, I., 115. London, 1816.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 118, 119.



himself somewhither over the sea, . . . So the Wednesday, in the morning before Shrovetide, M(aster) Garret departed. . . . But the Friday next, in the night time, he came again to Radleis house, . . . and so after midnight . . . he was apprehended and taken there in his bed, . . . and delivered over to D(octor) Cottisford, . . . who kept him as a prisoner, in his own chamber. There was great joy and rejoicing among the Papists. . . . Who immediately sent their letters in post haste unto the Cardinal to inform him of the apprehension of this notable heretic, . . . But of all this sudden hurly burly, was I utterly ignorant. So that I knew neither of M(aster) Garret's so sudden return, neither that he was so taken, until that afterwards, he came unto my chamber, . . . as a man amazed, and as soon as he saw me, he said he was undone for he was taken. . . . I asked him why he went not unto my brother? . . . He said that after he was gone a day's journey and a half, he was so fearful, that his heart would no other, but that he must needs return again unto Oxford. . . . He prayed me to help convey him away, . . . and told me that he would go into Wales, and thence convey himself into Germany. Then I put on him a sleeved coat of mine. He would also have had another manner of cap of me, but I had none but priest like such as his own was.

"Then kneeled us both down, . . . and lifting up our hearts and hands to God our heavenly father, desiring him with plenty of tears, so to conduct and prosper him in his journey, that he well might escape the danger of all his enemies, to the glory of his holy name. . . . And so he departed from me, . . . When I was gone down the stairs from my chamber, I straightway did shut my chamber door, and went into my study, and took the New Testament into my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and salt tear, I did with much deliberation read over the x. chapter of S. Matthew his Gospel, . . . and with fervent prayer, I did commit unto God our dearly beloved brother Garret. . . . Also that he would endue his tender and lately born little flock in Oxford with heavenly strength by his holy spirit that they might be well able to withstand to his glory all their fiery enemies.

"This done, I... went towards Friswide to speak with that worthy martyr of God M(aster) Clarke and others, and to declare unto them what had happened that afternoon.... I met by the way one Master Eden,... who... with pitiful countenance said, We are all undone, for Master Garret was returned.... and was in prison.... But I told him.... that I was well assured he was now gone,... how he came unto me, and how he went his way.... Then I went straight to Friswide.... As I then and there stood, incometh D(octor) Cotisford the Commissary, as fast as ever he could go, bare-headed and as pale as ashes, (I knew his grief well enough) and to the Dean he goeth, into the Quire,... and talked with him very sorrowfully.... About the middle of the church met them D(octor) London, puffing and blustering and blowing like a hungry and greedy Lion seeking his prey, they talked together awhile, but the Commissary was much blamed of them for keeping his prisoner so negligently.... And it was known abroad that M(aster) Garret was escaped.... These Doctors departed, and sent abroad their servants and spies every where. Master Clarke... came forth from the Quire, I followed him to his chamber and declared what was happened, that afternoon, of Master Garret's escape. He was glad for he knew of his foretelling.... I went to Alborne Hall and there lay that night. In the morning... I went straight towards Gloucester College to my chamber.... And going up the stairs, would have opened my door, but I could not in a long season do it. Whereby I perceived that my lock had been meddled with all.... When I came in I saw my bed all tossed and tumbled, my clothes in my press thrown down and my study door open, whereof I was much amazed, and thought verily that some search was made there that night for M(aster) Garret.... Now there was lying in the next chamber unto me, a monk, who as soon as he heard me,... came and told me how M(aster) Garret was sought (for),... and how every corner of my chamber was searched for M. Garret.... Then he told me that he was commanded to bring me as soon as I came in, unto the Prior.... I went with him to the said

Prior's chamber. . . . He asked me if M(aster) Garret were with me yesterday? I told him yea. Then he would know where he was. . . . I told him I knew not, . . . except he were at Woodstock. . . . Whither when I was brought into the chapel there I found D(octor) Cottisford, D(octor) Higdon, . . . and D(octor) London. First, they asked what my name was. I told them that my name was Anthony Dalaber. Then, how long I had been student in the University, and I told them almost iii years. . . . Then, whether I knew M(aster) Garret and how long I had known him. I told them I knew him well and had known him almost a twelvemonth. . . . At the last when they could get nothing of me whereby to hurt or accuse any man, . . . they all iii together brought me up a long stairs into a great chamber, . . . wherein stood a great pair of very high stocks. Then M(aster) Commissary asked me for my purse and girdle, took away my money and my knives, and then they put my legs into the stocks, and so locked me fast in them; in which I sat, my feet being almost as high as my head; and so departed they, . . . locking fast the chamber door. . . . Before dinner M(aster) Cottisford came up to me and requested me earnestly to tell him where M(aster) Garret was, and if I would so do, he promised me straightway to deliver me out of prison. But I told him I could not tell where he was, no more indeed I could. Then he departed to dinner, asking me if I would eat any meat. I told him yea, right gladly. He said he would send me some. When he was gone his servants asked me divers questions, which I do not now remember, and some of them spake me fair, and some threatened me, calling me heretic, and so departed, locking the door fast upon me."<sup>1</sup>

Thus far the story is related by Dalaber; but Foxe further records, that Garret was again arrested, imprisoned, and convicted as an heretic. Afterward he was compelled to carry a fagot in open procession from St. Mary's church to Friswide College. And all who were in the procession were commanded

<sup>1</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, pp. 1363-1369.

to throw a book into the fire, in token of repentance, as they passed by. After this, Garret escaped the tyranny of his enemies by fleeing from place to place, but was hotly pursued and at last taken. He was condemned and suffered martyrdom at the stake in Smithfield in the year 1541.<sup>1</sup>

The opinion of the hierarchy now is, that if this flood of heresy is checked, the fountain heads must be dried up. Hacket, the agent of Henry VIII., is at Antwerp with special letters for the arrest of Christopher Endhoven, whose great crime is printing New Testaments in English. But Antwerp was a free city and Endhoven a free citizen, and therefore could be heard in his own defense. Whereupon the lords of Antwerp decided "that the heresies and errors must be proved." The proof was not brought forward, and the "Margrave would proceed no further." Richard Harman and his wife were the next victims. Failing to secure the conviction of Endhoven on the charge of heresy, they prosecuted Harman as a traitor. And on this charge, backed by royal letters, Harman and his wife were sent to prison on the 12th of July, 1528. Richard Harman was an English merchant, and for many years a burgher of Antwerp. One of the charges against him was that he had "received books from a German merchant (viz., New Testaments in English without a gloss), and sold them to an English merchant who has had them conveyed to England." He was charged further with "sheltering suspected Lutherans;" also with "eating meat on Saturday." But such charges did not, in the judgment of Margaret and her council, sustain the accusation of being a traitor, and consequently the prisoners were discharged on the 26th of February, 1529, after suffering not only imprisonment for seven months, but a great hurt and hinderance in their business.<sup>2</sup>

The intense desire of Cardinal Wolsey was the apprehension of Tyndale and Roye. He communicated with Hacket on this

<sup>1</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1363. The more probable date of Garret's martyrdom is July 30, 1540.

<sup>2</sup> Arber's *Preface*, p. 39.

subject. He also sent a special messenger, in the person of John West, to Herman Rincke of Cologne, with orders to buy up everywhere books printed in English, and to arrest Roye and Hitchens (Tyndale). Rincke replied: "I will endeavour in every way to arrest Roy and Hutchins, and other opponents and rebels of the king's grace and yours."<sup>1</sup>

Failing in their attempts to stop the work of printing and importing New Testaments by persecution, the English government sought the same end by treaty; which stipulated that there should be the continuation of traffic for merchants between the two countries, but there should be no printing or selling of any Lutheran books on either side. This treaty was signed at Cambray in 1529. Bishop Tonsal, Sir Thomas More, and the agent Hacket were the commissioners. But after all they had more confidence in fire than in treaties; for Tonsal, on his return from Cambray, stopped at Antwerp for the purpose of buying New Testaments that he might burn them. He met with Augustine Packington, a London merchant, and proposed to purchase all the New Testaments that remained unsold. As the story goes, Packington laid the matter before Tyndale, and the result was; "the Bishop of London had the bookes, Packington the thanks, and Tyndall had the money."<sup>2</sup> Furnished thus with the requisite means, Tyndale is said to have set about correcting his translation and having it newly printed; so that the books came "thicke and threefolde ouer into England." The bishop perceiving this sent for Packington and said: "'How cometh this that there are so many New Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would bye them all.' Then aunswered Packington, 'Surely I bought all that was to bee had, but I perceauue they haue printed more since....you were best to bye the stamper too, and so you shalbe sure?' At which aunswere the Bishop smyled and so the matter ended."<sup>3</sup> Foxe also records in this same connection, that Sir Thomas More in his exam-

<sup>1</sup> Arber's *Preface*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1159.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1159.

ination of George Constantyne said: "'There is beyonde the sea Tyndall, Joye, and a great many of you; I know they cannot liue without helpe. There are some that helpe and succour them with money, and thou being one of them, haddest thy part thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee tell me, who be they that helpe them thus?' 'My Lord' quoth Constantine, 'I will tell you truly; it is the Bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deale of money upon New Testaments to burne them, and that hath bene and yet is our onely succour and comfort.' 'Now by my truth,' quoth More, 'I thinke even the same, for so much I told the Byshop before he went about it.'"<sup>1</sup>

The year 1530 brought with it changes for the worse. Cardinal Wolsey, in whose opinion "heresy was an error," and who by his leniency made it possible for those thus charged to recant, was degraded from his authority; while Sir Thomas More, in whose opinion "heresy was a crime," was exalted to the high seat of the chancellorship.<sup>2</sup> And Sir Thomas as chancellor used his authority in concert with the Romish bishops to blot out the very name of heresy. Also the effect of the king's fierce proclamation of December 24, 1529, for the abolishing of New Testaments, and other heretical books, and for the withstanding of all who taught or preached against the dignity and ordinances of the Catholic Church, began to be felt. "There ensued," says Foxe, "great persecution and trouble against the poor and innocent flock of Christ." Tonsal kindled a great fire of New Testaments in London on the 4th of May, 1530.<sup>3</sup> But the people were indignant. They remonstrated to no effect; but denounced it as "a burning of the Word of God." They further declared that "'there must

<sup>1</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1159. Some objections have been raised to this story, and yet it illustrates the true state of affairs at that time.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas More was made Chancellor October 26, 1529. See More's *Life of More*, p. 155, note. London, 1726.

<sup>3</sup> Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 81. The date in Strype is 1531.

be a visable contrariety between that Book and the Doctrines of those who so handled it'; by which both their prejudice against the Clergy, and their desire of reading the New Testament were encreased."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the impression abroad was that Henry VIII. was not altogether at one with the bishops in their war against heresy. The following extract from a letter of Bishop Nix, written on the 14th of May, 1530, reveals something of the state of feeling at least in his own diocese. The bishop in his perplexity wrote to Archbishop Warham: "I am accumbred with such as kepyth and readyth these arroneous books in *English*.... My Lord, I have done that lyeth in me for the suppression of soch persons; but it passeth my power.... For diverse saith openly in my Diocess, that the Kinges Grace wold, that they shold have the said arroneous books.... Show this to the Kinges Grace, beseeching him to send his honorable Lettres, under his Seal, down to whom he please, in my Diocess. That they may show and publish, that it is not his pleasure, that soche bookes should be had or red; and also punish such as saith so.... And how I thought best for the suppression of such as holdyth these arroneous opinions. For if they continue any time; I thynk they shall undoe us all.... But now it may be done wel in my Diocess; For the Gentlemen and the Communality be not greatly infected; but merchants and soch that hath their abiding not far from the Sea."<sup>2</sup>

The hierarchy is still on the alert for the apprehension of William Tyndale. Vaughan, the English envoy and successor of Hacket, has a special commission to watch Tyndale's movements. In the meantime Tyndale has been engaged in translating the Pentateuch, aided doubtless by his friend Fryth, who, at the persecution at Oxford, fled across the sea. These five books were printed separately, with titles and prologues

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's *History of the Ref.*, I., 160. London, 1681.

<sup>2</sup> Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*. App., p. 15. London, 1862.

to each, but without dates, excepting that of Genesis, which reads: "Emprinted at Marlborow, in the land of Hesse, by me, Hans Luft, the yere of our Lorde, M.D.XXX, the xvii dayes of Januarii."<sup>1</sup> These books are quite rare, since there is but one complete set known, which is preserved in the Grenville Library, British Museum. The story, told by Foxe, of Tyndale's voyage from Antwerp to Hamburg, with the manuscript of the newly translated Pentateuch, of his shipwreck and the loss of all his papers, and of Coverdale's connection with the work of retranslating at Hamburg, seems to be without sufficient foundation.

In January, 1531, Vaughan wrote to Cromwell: "It is *unlikely* to get Tyndall into England, when he *daily heareth* so many things from thence which feareth him."<sup>2</sup> Again in April, in giving an account of an interview granted him by Tyndale in the suburbs of Antwerp, he reports Tyndale as saying, among other things: "Again, may his Grace (Henry VIII.), being a Christian prince, be so unkind to God, which hath commanded His Word to be spread throughout the world, to give more faith to wicked persuasions of men, which presuming above God's wisdom, and contrary to that which Christ expressly commandeth in His *Testament*, dare say, *that it is not lawful for the people to have the same, in a tongue that they understand; because the purity thereof should open men's eyes to see their wickedness?* Is there more danger in the King's subjects, than in the subjects of all other Princes, which, in every of their tongues, have the same, under privilege of their sufferance?"<sup>3</sup> After a lengthy interview, Vaughan adds, that Tyndale, "being something fearful of me lest I would have pursued him, and drawing also towards night, he took his leave of me, and departed from the town, and I towards the town—saying, 'I should shortly, peradventure, see him again, or if not, hear from him;' . . . . Hasty to pursue him I was not, because I had some likelihood to speak shortly again

<sup>1</sup> Anderson's *Annals of Eng. Bible*, p. 137. London, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.



with him; and in pursuing him, I might perchance have *failed of my purpose, and put myself in danger.*"<sup>1</sup>

Vaughan wrote again to Cromwell in May, in regard to another meeting he had with Tyndale, and reports him as saying: "If it would stand with the King's most gracious pleasure to grant only *a bare text of the Scripture to be put forth among his people, like as is put forth among the subjects of the Emperor in these parts*, and of other Christian Princes, —be it of the translation of what person soever shall please his Majesty, I shall immediately make faithful promise never to write more, nor abide two days in these parts after the same (is done). . . . . And *till that time*, I will abide the asperity of all chances, whatsoever shall come, and endure my life in as much pains as it is able to bear and suffer."<sup>2</sup> It is but too evident that Cromwell's policy was by fair promises to entice Tyndale into England. But Tyndale remained unmoved in his sublime purpose to abide a stranger and a fugitive till the Scriptures were put forth in England in the language of the people. The time for this is near at hand; but as yet the prospect is most gloomy. Fires are just now kindling in England for men as well as for New Testaments. During this fiery year, 1531, Thomas Bilney, "the sainted Bilney" as he was justly called, was the first to burn at the stake. Among the thirty-four questions which were put to him when on trial the fifteenth reads: "*Whether they would haue the Masses and Gospels openly to bee read in Churches in the vulgare tongue, rather then in the Latine tongue.*"<sup>3</sup> This was the test question. It was death to answer it in the affirmative. And yet how firmly and nobly Bilney answered it. In reply he said, "hee would wishe that the Gospels and Epistles should bee read in Englishe. *For I would (sayth Paul) rather haue v. wordes &c. That the Church might be edified &c.* And Chrysostome exhorteth his hearers to looke vpon bookes, that they might the better committe vnto memory, those thynges whiche

<sup>1</sup> Anderson's *Annals of Eng. Bible*, p. 152. London, 1862.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 154, 155.

<sup>3</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1136.

they had heard. And S. Bede did translate S. Iohns Gospell into English.<sup>1</sup>

Richard Bayfield was the next to suffer. Against him as an heretic a long list of charges were brought, one of which was: "*He being beyond the sea, bought and procured . . . many booke & treatises of sondry sorts.*"<sup>2</sup> Among these were Tyndale's New Testament and "the first booke of Moyses, called Genesis." "He was," says Foxe, "beneficial to M. Tyndall and M. Fryth, for hee brought substaunce with hym, and was their owne hande, and solde all their woorkes and the Germaines woorkes both in Fraunce and in England."<sup>3</sup> Bayfield, after suffering the unprovoked violence of his persecutors, was led to the stake in Smithfield, in the month of November, 1531.<sup>4</sup> The Public Registers are filled with accounts, not only of those martyred, but of those who were imprisoned, put into stocks, and degraded by every indignity. "So great was the trouble of those tymes," says Foxe, "that it would ouercharge any storie to recite the names of all them which, . . . were driuen out of the realme, or were cast out from their goodes and houses, or brought to open shame by abjuration."<sup>5</sup>

These "bitter daies" continued during the next year. The king's mind is engrossed in the public and private affairs of his realm, and yet he finds time to plan again for the arrest of William Tyndale. Sir Thomas Elyot, the man of letters, the friend of Sir Thomas More, and the favorite of the king, is charged with the duty of "seizing Tyndale." The enterprise failed, but the animus of Henry VIII. and his councilors is revealed. Elyot pledged his utmost diligence. "In me," he says, "there shall lack none endeavour." Again, in reference to the hopelessness of the task, he adds: "As far as I can perceive, (Tyndale) hearing of the King's *diligence* in the apprehension of him, he withdraweth him into such places, where he thinketh to be farthest out of danger."<sup>6</sup> Next to

<sup>1</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1137.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1161.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1161.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1164.    <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1190.

<sup>6</sup> Anderson's *Anna's*, p. 176.

Tyndale, the man of all others whom the hierarchy wishes just now to apprehend is John Fryth. He was a notable scholar, a friend of the New learning, an early companion of Tyndale, and his own child in the Gospel. On account of his learning he was selected by Cardinal Wolsey as one of his instructors in his new College at Oxford; but on account of his religious opinions he was, with a notable band of sufferers,<sup>1</sup> shamefully imprisoned in the filthy cellar of that same College. He was released, however, by order of Wolsey, and, as already noted, escaped further persecution by fleeing to the continent. But for some reason not known he returned to England, and through the hatred and "deadly persecution of Sir Thomas More," he was arrested and sent to the tower. When brought before the bishop he refused to recant, and firmly subscribed to his answers these remarkable words: "I Frith do thus thinke, and as I thinke, so haue I said, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my bookes haue published."<sup>2</sup> He was consequently delivered over to the civil authorities, conveyed by them to Smithfield, and burned at the stake, on the 4th day of July, 1533. The shameful martyrdom of this innocent man made a deep impression upon the minds of the people. The change has already set in, and the cloud of persecution is being dispersed. The enemies of the truth hate heresy still, but the power of the people is felt in the House of Commons, and henceforth all cases of persons accused for heresy were taken out of the hands of the bishops.<sup>3</sup>

Persecution ceasing for a season, the demand arose anew for more New Testaments. Tyndale is now, 1534, at the house of Thomas Poynts, an English merchant, at Antwerp.

<sup>1</sup> Chief among whom were M(aster) Clarke, M(aster) Sumner, M(aster) Bettes, Bayley and Goodman; "most piked yong men of graue judgement and sharpe wittes, who conferring together upon the abuses of Religion . . . were therfore accused of heresie unto the Cardinall and cast into a prison." See Foxe's *Acts and Mon.*, p. 1171.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1178.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, I., 170.

He is busily engaged in revising his New Testament. The Dutch printers were preparing to put forth another edition; and when told that Tyndale was about to publish his revised edition, and consequently theirs could not be sold, they replied: "If he prynte two thousand and we as many, what is so little a noumber for all *England*? and we will sel ours better cheap, and therefore we doubt not of the sale."<sup>1</sup> The editors of the fourth Dutch edition employed George Joye to correct the copy. Now, about this time English exiles on the continent were expecting the publication of Tyndale's revised edition; and when Joye's book fell into their hands, supposing it to be Tyndale's New Testament, they brought it to him, with the inquiry, why certain fanciful alterations had been made. This was the first intimation that Tyndale had received, that any such book had been in preparation for the press. He was not a little irritated and hurt, that such liberties had been taken with his translation; and in his Epistle to the Reader, appended to the revised edition, he administered a sharp rebuke, to which Joye in reply, boastfully said: "I am not afraid to answer Master Tyndale in this matter, for all his high learning in Hebrew, Greek and Latin."<sup>2</sup> In this reply he paid an unintentional compliment to Tyndale's scholarship. The Dutch edition was published in August, 1534.<sup>3</sup> In November following, Tyndale's revised edition appeared with the following title: "The New Testament dyligently corrected and compared with the Greek by William Tyndale and fynished in the yere of oure Lorde God a. M. D. & XXXIIIIJ. in the moneth of November." The second title reads: "The Newe Testament imprinted at Antwerp by Marten Emperowr, Anno M. D. XXXIIIIJ."

The subjoined collation will show something of Tyndale's care in the work of revision. Many of the changes which he then made have come down to us in our present English

<sup>1</sup> Lewis' *History of Translations*, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Tyndale's *Works*, I., *Intro.*, p. lxii. Parker Soc. edition, 1848.

<sup>3</sup> "The only known copy of the edition corrected by Joye is in Mr. Grenville's bequest to the British Museum." *Ibid.*, p. lxi., *note*.

Bible, as the few examples inserted below will show. The readings from the revised edition are taken from Bagster's Hexapla, which is a reprint of the Bristol copy of 1534. The readings from the earlier edition are taken from Fry's facsimile of the Bristol copy of Tyndale's octavo New Testament, 1525-6.<sup>1</sup> A facsimile noted for its accuracy in every particular.

Matt. I. 11. Josias begat Jeconias and hys brethren aboute the tyme  
of the Captivite of Babilon. Revised edition reads:  
about the tyme they were caryed  
awaye to Babylon; which is followed by the A. V.

12. After they wer ledd captive to Babilon. Revised edition  
reads: And after they were brought to Babylon;  
which is followed by the A. V.

18. The byrthe off Christe was on thys wyse. When hys  
mother Mary was *maryed vnto* Joseph. Revised edition  
has: When hys mother Mary was *betrouteth* to  
Joseph.

20. . . behold the āgell of the lord apered vnto hi in  
*sepe* sainge. Revised edition reads: . . . ap-  
peared vnto him in a *dreme*. Which is followed by  
the A. V.

23. . . and they shall call his name Emanuel,  
which is *as moche to saye* be interpretacione *as* God  
with vs. Revised edition reads: . . . which is  
by interpretacion, God with vs.

II. 8. . . and sent them to bethleem saynge; *when ye be  
come thyder* searche dyligently for the child. Revised  
edition reads: . . . saynge; *Goo* and searche  
dyligently for the childe.

12. And after that they were warned *in ther sepe*. Revised  
edition reads: . . . they were warned *of God in  
a dreme*; and is followed by the A. V.

III. 6. . . *knoledding* their synes. Revised edition  
has: *confessynge*; and is followed by the A. V.

10. . . *shalbe* hewe doue. Revised edition reads:  
*is* hewen doune; and is followed by the A. V.

IV. 8. . . and shewed him al the kyngdomes of the  
worlde, and *the beauty* of them. Revised edition reads:

<sup>1</sup> From copy in the Boston Public Library.

and *all the glorie* of them; and is followed by the A. V.

10. . . . Thou shalt worshyp *thy Lorde God*. Revised edition reads: . . . *the Lorde thy God*; and is followed by the A. V.

V. 9. Blessed are the *maynteyners of peace*. Revised edition has: *peacemakers*; and is followed by the A. V.

16. *Se that* youre light so shyne before men. Revised edition has: *Let* your light . . . ; and is followed by the A. V.

VI. 13. Leed vs not into temtacion, but delyvre vs ffrom yvell. Amen. Revised edition adds the doxology; and is followed by the A. V.

28. Beholde the lyles off the felde. Revised edition has: *considere*; and is followed by the A. V.

VII. 21. . . . but he that *fulfilleth* my fathers will which ys in heven. Revised edition has: *dothe*; and is followed by the A. V.

25. . . . and bet vpon that housse, and it *was not over throwen*. Revised edition reads: . . . *it fell not*; and is followed by the A. V.

The following is the Lord's prayer from Tyndale's quarto edition of 1525. The Grenville fragment is all that remains of this edition. The following specimen is from Arber's Photo-lithographed facsimile. The original is in Black Letter.

Matt. VI. 9-13. O oure father, which art in heven, halowed be thy name.  
Let thy kyngdom come, Thy wyll be fulfilled, as  
well in erth, as hit ys in heven. Geve vs this  
daye our dayly breade. And forgeve vs oure  
treaspases, even as we forgeve them which treas-  
pas vs. Lede vs nott in to temtacion, but de-  
lyvre vs from yvell, Amen.

The text of the Lord's prayer in Tyndale's octavo edition corresponds with the above word for word, and therefore is not inserted here. In the revised edition of 1534, the changes are unimportant, excepting the addition of the doxology as

seen below. The text is taken from Bagster's reprint in the Hexapla.

Matt. VI. 9-13. O oure father which arte in heven, halowed be thy name.

Let thy kyngdome come. Thy wyll be fulfilled, as well in erth, as it ys in heven. Geve vs this daye oure dayly breede. And forgeve vs oure treaspases, even as we forgeve oure trespassers. And leade vs not into temptacion : but delyver vs from evell. For thyne is the kingedome and the power, and the glorie for ever. Amen.

The following specimens of Tyndale's translation is from the revised edition of 1534. The first is given with the spelling modernized to show at a glance the resemblance to our present version.

Rom. VIII. 6-17. To be carnally minded, is death. But to be spiritually minded is life and peace. Because that the fleshly mind is enmity against God : for it is not obedient to the law of God, neither can be. So then they that are given to the flesh, cannot please God.

But ye are not given to the flesh, but to the spirit : if so be that the spirit of God dwell in you. If there be any man that hath not the spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. If Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin ; but the spirit is life for righteousness sake. Wherefore if the spirit of him that raised up Jesus from death, dwell in you : even he that raised up Christ from death : shall quicken your mortal bodies, because that this spirit dwelleth in you.

Therefore brethren we are now debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh. For if ye live after the flesh, ye must die. But if ye mortify the deeds of the body, by the help of the spirit, ye shall live. For as many as are led by the spirit of God ; they are the sons of God. For ye have not received the spirit of bondage, to fear any more, but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba father. The same spirit certifieth our spirit : that we are the sons of God. If we be sons, we are also heirs, the heirs I mean

of God, and heirs annexed with Christ : if so be that we suffer together, that we may be glorified together.

26-30. Likewise the spirit also helpeth our infirmities. For we know not what to desire as we ought: but the spirit maketh intercession mightily for us with groanings which cannot be expressed with tongue. And he that searcheth the hearts, knoweth what is the meaning of the spirit, for he maketh intercession for the saints according to the pleasure of God. For we know that all things work for the best unto them that love God, which also are called of purpose. For those which he knew before, he also ordained before, that they should be like fashioned unto the shape of his son, that he might be the first begotten son among many brethren. Moreover which he appointed before, them he also called. And which he called, them also he justified, which he justified, them he also glorified.

The following specimen from the edition of 1534 is here given with the original spelling.

I. Cor. XIII. 1-13. Though I spake with the tonges of men and angels, and yet had no love, I were even as soundinge brasse : or as a tynklynge Cymball. And though I coulde prophesy, and vnderstode all secretes, and all knowledge : yee, yf I had all fayth so that I coulde move mountayns oute of ther places, and yet had no love, I were nothyng. And though I bestowed all my gooddes to fede the poore, and though I gave my body even that I burned, and yet had no love, it profeteth me nothyng.

Love suffereth longe, and is corteous. Love envieth not. Love doth not frowardly, swelleth not dealeth not dishonestly, seketh not her awne, is not provoked to anger, thynketh not evyll, reioyseth not in iniquite : but reioyseth in the trueth, suffreth all thyng, beleveth all thynges, hopeth all thynges, endureth in all thynges. Though that prophesyng fayle, other tongues



shall cease, or knowledge vanysshe awaye, yet love falleth never awaye.

For oure knowledge is vnperfect, and oure prophesyng is unperfet. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is vnperfect shall be done awaye. When I was a chylde, I spake as a chylde, I vnderstode as a childe, I ymagened as a chylde. But assone as I was a man, I put awaye childesshnes. Now we se in a glasse even in a darke speakyng: but then shall we se face to face. Nowe I knowe vnperfectly: but then shall I knowe even as I am knowen. Now abideth fayth, hope, and love, even these thre; but the chefe of these is love.

The revised edition of Tyndale's New Testament, 1534, must ever stand as a monument of his originality and faithfulness as a translator. In respect to it, he says: that he had looked it over "with all diligence and compared it unto the Greek;" and had "weeded out many faults, which lack of help at the beginning and oversight did sow therein." Tyndale translated directly from the Greek. He used the Latin text of Erasmus, but "frequently adheres to the original (in cases) where Erasmus departs from it."<sup>1</sup> He had the Vulgate before him, also Luther's translation; but he made a scholarly use of them. Tyndale's scholarship was not called in question by his cotemporaries. Even his enemies were inclined to magnify rather than detract from it. Buschius is reported as saying: "That the New Testament was translated by an Englishman, . . . who was so learned in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English and French, that, whichever he spoke, you would think his native tongue."<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas More in his attack upon Tyndale, calls in question not his knowledge and ability, but his motives as a translator. Hence Tyndale in his answers takes up the several words complained of by More, "as by

<sup>1</sup> Hallam's *Lit. of Europe*, I., 380, note. New York, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> Arber's *Preface*, p. 25.

evil purpose changed," and shows that he sought to free them from a false and private interpretation. The word *church*, for example, Tyndale changed to *congregation*, meaning "the whole congregation of them that believe in Christ;" rather than, "the shaven flock of them that shore the whole world."<sup>1</sup> Again the word *charity*, he changed to *love*; since as he declared that, "*charity* is no known English, in that sense which *agape* requireth."<sup>2</sup> He further says: "By this word *penance* they make the people understand holy deeds of their own enjoining;" hence he changed it to *repentance*.<sup>3</sup> "So now," he adds, "the cause why our prelates thus rage, and that moveth them to call M(aster) More to help, is not that they find just causes in the translation, but because they have lost their juggling and feigned terms; wherewith Peter prophesied they should make merchandise of the people."<sup>4</sup>

One of the chief excellencies which lies at the foundation of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament is the simplicity of its language. The English language in the time of Tyndale had arrived at what may be called the first stage of its maturity. The tendency already was against Latinized stateliness and French elegance. Sir Thomas Elyot, an accomplished author in the reign of Henry VIII., was complimented by the king for his freedom from new terms taken from the French. It is recorded of Dean Colet, who died in 1519, that "he sought to improve his English style by the study of Chaucer and the old poets." Tyndale, as he was translating for the people, studied great plainness of speech. If possible, sometimes he erred on the side of too great homeliness in the choice of language; though he nowhere affects purism in style. Besides, at this time the English language was written as it was spoken; and in this particular it corresponded with the state of the languages in which the Scriptures were first written. Tyndale, in defending English translations of the Bible, says: "For the Greek tongue agreeth

<sup>1</sup> Tyndale's *Works*, III., 13. Cambridge, 1850.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 24.

more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one; so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English, word for word; when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shall have much work to translate it well-favouredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin, and as it hath in the Hebrew. A thousand parts better may it be translated into the English than into the Latin."<sup>1</sup> Then Tyndale after Wycliffe has given us an unaffected Scriptural phraseology, which has stamped itself upon the several translations and revisions made since his time, the same which gives a peculiar charm to the style of our present English Bible.

William Tyndale was a child of the New learning, and a true disciple of Erasmus. The New Testament of Erasmus was his constant companion. At the same time he was a Lollard in spirit and a follower of Wycliffe. He was familiar with the life and writings of Wycliffe. He could berate Erasmus as a flatterer, but has only words of praise for Wycliffe as a preacher of repentance. He may or may not have had a copy of Wycliffe's New Testament before him when he made his translation. Tyndale's translation is in no sense "a full grown Wycliffe." The Wycliffite versions could not have been a standard for Tyndale either in translation or language, for the former was from the Vulgate, and the latter was a century and a half old. Besides, Tyndale affirms distinctly: "I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like thing in the scripture before time."<sup>2</sup> And yet all this does not disprove a certain close connection between Wycliffe and Tyndale. The old Wycliffite manuscripts were common, and there is no doubt but that Tyndale was familiar with them. These were, up to this time, the only English versions extant.

<sup>1</sup> Tyndale's *Works*, I., 148, 149.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 390.

And it was customary in those times to read the Bible much in public as well as in private; also to commit portions of the Scriptures to memory for the individual's own benefit, or for the sake of repeating passages thus learned in social gatherings for the edification of others. So that largely the religious language and Scriptural phraseology of Christian men and women were derived from the Wycliffite versions. To this influence Tyndale was subject, which in itself would constitute an intimate though an unconscious connection between Tyndale's translation and the Wycliffite versions. Also, upon actual comparison very many well-chosen words and phrases are common to these versions, and for which they were not indebted in common to the Vulgate. It is noticeable also that many single words, now obsolete, were used in common by Wycliffe and Tyndale, and continued in good use till the time of James I., when they were introduced into the Authorized version. This conserving influence of Bible versions upon our English tongue is most easily traced, not only from Wycliffe to Tyndale, but from Tyndale to the Authorized version, and so from 1611 to the present time. But in estimating the influence of Tyndale's translation upon subsequent versions, and particularly upon our present version, the conclusion may be stated, that while there have been many changes both in the rendering and in the language, and many of them for the better, yet Tyndale's words, sentences, and phraseology have been to a wonderful extent retained.

But while the English of Tyndale's translation is replete with the Saxon element of our language; and while there is a tendency in a few cases to a too great familiarity in diction, yet occasionally there is noticeable a certain elegance of expression, made up of words derived from the Latin and French, and yet words which were at the time naturalized. Few if any of these terms are objectionable; but so far as they have been replaced by simpler terms, in later versions, the change has been for the better. As examples, we find in Tyndale such words as *ascended*, *conversacion*, *certifieth*, *conspyred*,

*deceased, delectation, excommunicat, executed, fame, fortunèd, lauding, perceavyng, pertayned, testimonyall, recompence, respyte, suffised, vengeaunce, veritie, and vesture, which may be found below in their several connections:*<sup>1</sup>

Matt. II. 16. Then Herod *perceavyng* that he was mooched of the wyse men. The A. V. reads: when *hee saw*.

III. 7. . . . Who hath taught you to fle from the *vengeaunce* to come. The A. V. reads: *wrath* to come.

V. 31. . . . let hym geve her a *testimonyall* also of the devorcement. The Great Bible, 1539, has: a *lettre*; and the A. V. has: a *writing* of diuorcement.

IX. 18. . . . my doghter is euen now *deceased*. The A. V. has: is euen now *dead*.

XIV. 20. And they dyd all eate, and *were suffised*. The A. V. has: *were filled*.

36. . . . that they myght touche the hemme of his *vesture* only. The A. V. has: his *garment*.<sup>2</sup>

XVIII. 26. . . . Sir, geve me *respyte*. The A. V. has: *have patience with me*.

XXIV. 6. . . . and of the *fame* of warres. The A. V. has: *rumors* of warres. Both of these words, however, are from the French; the former originally from the Greek, and the latter from the Latin.

Luke II. 2. And this taxing was . . . *executed*.

4. And Joseph also *ascended* from Galile.

13. . . . *laudyng* God and sayinge.

V. 3. . . . one of the shippes, which *pertheyned* to Simon.

VI. 6. And it *fortunèd* in a nother saboth also.

X. 35. . . . I will *recompence* the.

John IX. 22. . . . had *conspyred*, . . . should be *excommunicat*.

Rom. III. 7. Yf the *veritie* of God appere moare excellent thorow my lye.

VII. 6. . . . in a newe *conversacion* of the sprete.

VIII. 16. . . . *certifyeth* our sprete.

II Cor. XII. 10. Therefore have I *delectacion* in infirmities.

The occasional tendency of Tyndale to the use of familiar

<sup>1</sup> The following examples are taken from Bagster's *Hexapla*. London, N. D.

<sup>2</sup> Although this word *garment* is old English derived from the Norman French.

words and phrases appears in the following examples; though it must be remembered that the language at this period was largely written as it was spoken. Consequently, that many terms which may now be regarded as colloquial, were then authorized by good usage:

- Matt. VI. 7. And when ye praye, *bable not moche*.  
 XVIII. 26. . . . I wyll paye it *every whit*.  
 XIX. 6. . . . that which God hath *cuppled togedder*.  
 XXVI. 2. . . . shalbe *ester*.  
 17. . . . *sweete breed*.  
 XXVII. 62. . . . *good frydaye*.  
 Luke XI. 46. . . . touche not *the packes* with one of youre  
 fyngers.  
 John IX. 18. . . . *dyd not beleve of the felowe*.  
 Acts XIII. 1. . . . and Manahen, Herode the Tetrarkes *nors-*  
*felowe*.  
 Rom. I. 10. . . . beseeching that *at one tyme or another*.  
 I Cor. IV. 6. . . . that one *swell not agaynat another*.  
 V. 6. . . . a lytle leaven *soweth the whole lombe of dowe*.  
 8. . . . kepe *holy daye*.  
 II Cor. II. 17. . . . which *choppe and chaunge* with the worde  
 of God.  
 Col. II. 18. Let no man make you *shote at a wrong (marke)*.  
 Heb. VIII. 1. Of the thynges which we have spoken, *this is the pyth*.

In the natural growth and decay to which language is subject, many words in Tyndale's translation have become obsolete; some only in their meaning, while others have suffered both in form and meaning. In the first class, we have such words as: *angle*, hook; *avoyd*, depart; *ought*, owed; *by and by*, immediately; *corne*, wheat or barley; *dyd on*, put on; *gostly*, spiritually; *knowledge*, confess; *meate*, food; *diseasest*, troublest; *quicke*, living; *scrip*, small bag; *wittes*, mind; and *wode*, tree. All of which may be found below in their connections:

- Matt. IV. 10. Then sayde Jesus vnto hym. *Avoyd Satan*.  
 X. 9. . . . nor yet *scrip* towards your iorney.  
 XV. 37. . . . and they toke vp of the broken *meate* that  
 was lefte vii baskets full.  
 XVII. 27. . . . goo to the see and cast in thyne *angle*:

- XVIII. 24. . . . one was broughte vnto him, which *aught* him ten thousande talentis.
- Mark V. 35. . . . why *diseasest* thou the master eny further?
- John VI. 21. . . . the ship was *by and by* at the londe whyther they went.
- XIX. 2. And they *dyd on* him a purple garment.
- Rom. VIII. 5. . . . But they that are spirituall, are *gostly* mynde*d*.
- X. 9. For yf thou shalt *knowledge* with thy mouth.
- XII. 1. . . . that ye make youre bodyes *aquicke* sacrifice.
2. . . . by the renuyng of youre *wittes*.
- Rev. XXII. 2. and of ether syde of the ryver was there *wode* of life.

The following are examples of the second class, in which the words are obsolete in form as well as in meaning : *arede*, prophesy; *bewreyeth*, betrayeth; *closse*, field; *pill*, make a gain; *gobbets*, fragments; *grece*, stairs; *harbourless*, shelterless; *lyvelod*, land; *partlettes*, handkerchiefs; *shamfastness*, modesty; *woot not*, know not; *yerwhyte*, already; which are inserted below in their respective connections.

- Matt. XIII. 27. . . . Syr sowdest not thou good seed in thy *closse*?
- XIV. 20. And they *gadered* vp of the *gobbets* that remayned.
- XXV. 43. I was *herbourlesse*, and ye lodged me not.
- XXVI. 70. . . . I *woot* not what thou sayst.
72. . . . for thy speache *bewreyeth* the.
- Mark XIV. 65. . . . *arede* vnto vs.
- John IX. 27. . . . I tolde you *yerwhyte*.
- Acts V. 3. . . . and kepe awaye parte of the pryce of the *lyvelod*.
- XIX. 12. . . . so that from his body, were brought vnto the sicke, napkins or *partlettes*, and the diseases departed from them.
- XXI. 35. And when he came vnto a *grece*.
- II. Cor. XII. 17. Did I *pill* you by eny of them which I sent vnto you? Though this word still lives in pillage.
- I. Tim. II. 9. Lykwyse also the wemen that they araye them selves in comlye aparell with *shamfastness*, and discrete behaveour.

In Tyndale's orthography, as we might expect, archaic forms occur continually. Many of which found a place in the first edition of King James' Bible. The following will serve as

examples: *awne*, own; *brent*, burnt; *brydde*, bird; *coostes*, coasts; *faule*, fault; *fothe*, foot; *goo*, go; *lowse*, loose; *moe*, more; *monethes*, months; *noo*, no; *rotte*, root; *se*, see; *the*, thee; *then*, than; *thorow*, through; *ynough*, enough.

One of the peculiar characteristics of Tyndale's translation is the presence of an old English idiom, in which the personal pronoun, as a nominative, follows the verb. An idiom which was adopted by subsequent versions, including that of King James' Bible. Occurring as it does constantly in the Gospels, it imparts a quaintness to the style, which is by no means unpleasant. Take the following as illustrations:<sup>1</sup>

- John IX. 13. Then *brought they* . . . him that a lytell before was blynde.  
 17. Then *spake they* vnto the blynde agayne.  
 24. Then agayne *called they* the man that was blynde.  
 26. Then *sayde they* to him agayne.  
 28. Then *rated they* him.
- XI. 7. Then after that *sayd he* to his disciples.  
 40. . . . *sayde I* not vnto the.  
 51. This *spake he* not of him selfe.
- XII. 6. This *sayde he*, not that he cared for the pooer.  
 27. . . . but therefore *came I* vnto this houre.  
 36. . . . These thinges *spake Iesus* and departed.
- XIV. 27. . . . Not as the worlde geueth, *geue I* vnto you.  
 31. . . . therefore as the father *gave me* commaundment, even so *do I*.
- XV. 15. Hence forth *call I* you not servautes.
- XVI. 4. These thinges *sayde I* not vnto you at the begynninge.  
 32. . . . And yet *am I* not alone.
- XVII. 1. These wordes *spake Iesus*.  
 13. Now *come I* to the, and these wordes *speaks I* in the worlde,  
 19. . . . and for their sakes *sanctify I* my selfe.
- XVIII. 9. . . . of them which thou gavest me, *have I* not lost one.

In 1535 appeared Tyndale's second revision of his translation of the New Testament. In fact, during this year there

<sup>1</sup> This collation is from Tyndale's edition of 1534. See Bagster's *Hexapla*.



were two issues. One of these had the monogram G. H.<sup>1</sup> (1535—1534. G. H.) attached to the second title. This is probably a genuine Tyndale, since its readings were adopted by Rogers in his *Matthewe's Bible*. It was doubtless selected by him as Tyndale's last and best work. Through *Matthewe's Bible* the readings of this edition of Tyndale passed into *King James' Bible*. The other issue of 1535 was doubtless a pirated edition, and is marked by a peculiar orthography. This peculiarity in spelling is explained by Mr. Offer and others as having been adopted intentionally by Tyndale in his attempt to adapt the text to the common people, in the fulfilment of his pledge to give the New Testament to the uneducated in their own tongue.<sup>2</sup> But a more probable explanation is, that this false orthography was the result of Flemish pronunciation of the English language. The compositor spelling from sound as the copy was read to him.<sup>3</sup> The following are examples of this peculiarity: *faether, maester, spaeke, faeyth, hoepe, moether, broether, aboede, woeld, stoene, oones, only, hoow, whom, poure, tought, holly cite, cloocke, and tacken*.<sup>4</sup>

Tyndale's labors as a translator extended into the Old Testament, and doubtless, had his life been spared, he would have completed the whole Bible. The five books of Moses were translated by him, and published separately, each with its own title-page. The books of Genesis and Numbers were printed in Black Letter, the others in Roman character. They were all bound together and reissued in 1534. The book of Jonah was translated by Tyndale in 1531, but was not reprinted. There has been some doubt as to how much of the Old Testament Tyndale translated. Hall, the chronicler, claims that

<sup>1</sup> This monogram, as surmised by Mr. Stevens, "means the translator, Guillaume Hytchens, the assumed name of William Tyndale." See *Catalogue of Caxton Exhibition*, p. 90. London, N. D.

<sup>2</sup> Offer's *Memoirs of Tyndale*, prefixed to *N. T.*, p. 82. London, 1836.

<sup>3</sup> Eadie's *History of English Bible*, I., 234. London, 1876.

<sup>4</sup> For a full text of these words, see Francis Fry's *Bibliographical Description of Tyndale's New Testaments*, pp. 63, 64, 65. Harvard College Library.

beside the New Testament and the Pentateuch, he completed the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the four books of Kings, the two books of Chronicles, Nehemiah, and the first book of Esdras, and the Prophet Jonah. But whatever Tyndale may have left behind in manuscript, he only published, besides the New Testament, the Pentateuch and the book of Jonah.<sup>1</sup> That Tyndale translated directly from the Hebrew and that he was a master of that language, there is no longer any question.<sup>2</sup>

But Tyndale's labors are drawing to a close. During the year 1534 he dwelt openly at the house of Thomas Poyntz, in Antwerp. He had never been so free as now from the fear of his enemies. The tidings from England continued to be most flattering. The New Testament party was growing daily in strength, and was headed by Queen Anne Boleyn,<sup>3</sup> who, according to Burnet, "reigned in the King's Heart as absolutely as he did over his Subjects."<sup>4</sup> Next to her stood Archbishop Cranmer, whose heart, if not his hand, was always with the right; and then Cromwell, the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs, who though not always true, yet from the first may be reckoned among the friends of the Bible. But there was at the same time the Romish party, strong in numbers and crafty in council; but just now seemingly powerless and inactive. All these things were encouraging, and so flattering that they proved most disastrous to Tyndale, in that he was put off his guard, and thus subjected to the power of his enemies. The following story of his base betrayal is recorded by Foxe. The

<sup>1</sup> "A copy of Tyndale's translation of the book of *Jonah* was found in 1861, by Lord A. Hervey, which was reproduced in facsimile by Mr. F. Fry, 1863."

<sup>2</sup> See the question fully argued in Eadie's *Hist. of Eng. Bible*, I., 209-215.

<sup>3</sup> In recognition of her protection to the friends of the New Testament, Tyndale presented her with a copy of his revised *N. T.*, printed on vellum. This book is preserved in the British Museum, though not in the original binding.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the Reformation*, I., 171, 172. London, 1681.

betrayed was one Henry Philipps. Tyndale's lodgings were in the house of Poyntz, at Antwerp. He was accustomed at this time to dine, by invitation, with the English merchants of the city. At these social gatherings he met frequently with this man Philipps, who by his learning and address commended himself to the friendship of Tyndale. In the meantime Tyndale invited him to his own lodgings, and "shewed him his bookes and other secretes of hys study, so little did Tyndall then mistrust thys traytour." Philipps' purpose was formed, and he set out for Brussels to visit the court. The emperor is just now engaged in a bitter controversy with Henry VIII. respecting Lady Catherine, who is aunt to the emperor. This circumstance was favorable to the reception of Philipps, who was a representative of the Romish party. He was successful in obtaining the Procurator General, with other officers, with whom he returned to Antwerp. "The whiche," says Foxe, "was not done with small charges and expences, from whom so euer it came."<sup>1</sup> Thereby intimating his opinion that the Romish Church was at the bottom of this sad affair, with Philipps as its agent.

Foxe in further recording the particulars says: that in the absence of Poyntz from Antwerp, Philipps arranged the officers at the street door of his house, and going up to Tyndale's room, as a friend requested of him the loan of forty shillings, under the pretense of having lost his purse. "The whiche was easie," adds Foxe, "to be had of him, if he had it; for in the wylle subtilities of thys world he was simple and unexperte." Philipps, to keep up his base show of friendly confidence, invited Tyndale to dine with him, but Tyndale declined, saying: "I am already engaged, and you shall go with me and be my geste, where you shalbe welcome." But as they went forth, Philipps pointed him out to the officers who were waiting at the door. They arrested him and took him before the Procurator General; and thence to the castle of Vilvorde, distant some eighteen miles from Antwerp; not

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, pp. 1227, 1228.

however till they had searched his room "and sent away all that was there of M. Tyndals, as well hys bookes as other thynges."<sup>1</sup>

The English merchants of Antwerp made every possible effort for Tyndale's release. They applied to the Brussels court, also to the English court, and received favorable answers, and when Poyntz, who was especially active, was about to obtain letters authorizing the delivering up of Tyndale, the sly and wily Philipps frustrated all, by entering complaint against Poyntz, "that he had been a succourer of Tyndall and was one of the same opinion." And on this charge he had him arrested. Poyntz, after suffering imprisonment some four months, escaped. But Tyndale remained in prison about a year and a half, having been arrested on the 23d or 24th of May, 1535.<sup>2</sup> There is but one opinion in respect to Tyndale's seizure, that it was through the connivance of Romish bishops. Although the English authorities pursued Tyndale, now by one agent and now by another, yet the disgrace of his final betrayal fastens upon this Henry Philipps, with all the circumstances pointing to the mysterious hand of Romish authority. "Tyndale was betrayed and taken," says Hall in his *Chronicles*, "as many said, not without the help and procurement of some bishops of the realm." Poyntz had no doubt but that the arrest of Tyndale had been made "by procurement out of England," but unknown to the king's grace."<sup>3</sup>

The year 1536 is most memorable in the history of Tyndale's life, also in the history of his translation of the New Testament; for while it witnessed the binding of the translator, it likewise witnessed the unfettering of the translation. In Antwerp the press was busy in printing edition after edition of his revised New Testament. But above all Tyndale's New Testament is this year printed in London, which constitutes an important epoch, in that it was the first printing of the

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1228.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1229

<sup>3</sup> *Edie's History of English Bible*, I., 239.

English Scriptures on English ground. This London edition was a reprint of the revised edition of 1534. It was published by Godfray, who favored the evangelical party.<sup>1</sup> Tyndale probably did not live to see a copy of this London Testament, but aware of its progress he must have been filled with joy, that so soon his fondest hopes would be realized. The title of this volume reads: "The Newe Testament yet ones agayne corrected by W. Tyndale: And in many places amended, where it scaped before by neglygence of the printer, . . . . . Newly printed in the yere of our lorde MDXXXVI." At the end of the book are these words: "GOD SAUE THE KYNGE AND ALL HIS WELL-WYLLERS."

The apostle Paul when a prisoner at Rome, with death staring him in the face, wrote to Timothy: *The cloke that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring (with thee,) and the books (but) especially the parchments.*<sup>2</sup> This request unimportant in itself, yet on account of the apostle's circumstances, is one of great interest. So likewise the following extracts from Tyndale's letter while a prisoner at Vilvorde, have a touching interest. "Your lordship . . . will request the procureur to be kind enough to send me from my goods, which he has in possession, a warmer cap, for I suffer extremely from cold in the head, being afflicted with a perpetual catarrh, which is considerably increased in the cell. A warmer coat also, for that which I have is very thin; also a piece of cloth to patch my leggings; my shirts are also worn out. He has also a wollen shirt of mine, if he will be kind enough to send it. . . . . I wish also his permission to have a candle in the evening, for it is wearisome to sit alone in the dark. But above all, I entreat and beseech your clemency to be urgent with the Procureur, that he may kindly permit me to have my Hebrew Bible, Hebrew Grammar, and Hebrew Dictionary, that I may spend my time with that

<sup>1</sup> Compare *note* in Westcott's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, p. 50. London, 1872.

<sup>2</sup> II. Tim., IV., 13.

study. And in return, may you obtain your dearest wish, provided always that it be consistant with the salvation of your soul.”<sup>1</sup>

A commission was at last appointed for Tyndale's trial. For the law of the Low countries grants to him at least the form of a trial. He is permitted to have an advocate, but prefers to answer for himself. The commission consisted of four doctors of Louvain, which University was only nine or ten miles from the town of Vilvorde. From the first Tyndale looked for neither justice or mercy at the hands of his enemies. “If they burn me,” he said, “they shall none other thing than I look for.” And so it happened even as he expected. For “at last,” says Foxe, “after much reasonyng, when no reason would serue, although he deserved no death, hee was condemned.”<sup>2</sup> This took place on the 10th of August, 1536. On the 6th of October following, Tyndale was led forth to the place of execution. He was first chained to the stake, then strangled, and then burned. Just before his death, he cried out, “with a feruent zeal, and a loud voyce: ‘*Lorde open the Kyng of Englandes eyes.*’”<sup>3</sup>

From the testimony of those who came in direct contact with Tyndale we may learn something of the excellence of his character. The Procurator General declared him to be “a learned, a good, and a godly man.” Foxe further records, that through the power of Tyndale's doctrine and the sincerity of his life, the jail-keeper, his daughter, and others of his household, were converted to Christianity. Others in the castle, who were conversant with Tyndale while there a prisoner, are reported as saying: “That if he were not a good Christen

<sup>1</sup> Eadie's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, I., 211, 242. A photograph copy of this autograph letter may be found in Fry's *Bibliographical Description of Tyndale's Editions of the New Testament*, p. 14. “The letter has neither date nor superscription. But there is not the slightest doubt that it was written at Vilvorde and addressed to the Governor of the Castle, the Marquis of Bergen...with whom Cromwell had already interceded in Tyndale's favor.”

<sup>2</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1229.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1229.

man, they could not tell whom to trust." The estimate of John Fryth, who for many years had been a most-intimate friend of Tyndale, is expressed in a few words: "I am sure," he wrote, "that for hys learnyng and judgement in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted then all the Byshops in England."<sup>1</sup> The words of Foxe himself are: "The worthy vertues and doynge of this blessed Martyr, who for hys paynefull trauailes, and singular zeale to his countrey, may be called in these our dayes, an Apostle of England."<sup>2</sup> The influence of Tyndale's life is by no means to be limited to his own age, for it has come down through the ages to the present time, and shall go on so long as the English language is spoken, and the English Scriptures are read. Yea, the influence of William Tyndale shall be felt by every heathen nation among whom English or American missionaries labor and translate the Scriptures. But the immediate effect of his life-work was to create and in part supply a demand for the Holy Scriptures in the language of the people.

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1230.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1230.

## CHAPTER IV.

COVERDALE'S BIBLE. A. D. 1535.

WHEN the New Testament of Erasmus found its way, 1516, into the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, there was a beginning of the Reformation in England. Learning, now reviving and revived, applied itself to the Holy Scriptures. The study of the Greek language occasioned such opposition on the part of the papists, that Henry VIII. sent his royal letters to the University of Oxford, "to allow and encourage that study among the young men." The friends of the Old learning carried the war into the pulpit, and warned each one of their hearers with the cry: "TAKE CARE OF GREEK, LEST YOU BECOME AN HERETIC; AVOID HEBREW, LEST YOU BECOME LIKE JEWS."<sup>1</sup> It is related of a certain preacher that, in a sermon before Henry VIII., "he railed violently against *Greek learning* and New Interpretations of the Scripture. . . . After sermon, Henry sent for the divine who had preached, and appointed a solemn disputation, . . . between the preacher opposing, and Sir Thomas More defending, the use of the Greek tongue. More began with an eloquent apology. . . . But the divine instead of replying to the arguments of More, fell upon his knees, and implored pardon of the king, . . . saying, that 'what he had done was by the impulse of the Spirit.' 'Not the Spirit of Christ,' rejoined Henry, 'but the spirit of infatuation.' The king then asked him, 'whether he had read the writings of Erasmus, against which he had declaimed.' To this he answered in the negative. . . . 'I have read,' said he, 'something they call MORIA.' (*Moriæ Encomium*, The Praise of Folly.) 'Yes,' replied Pace, 'may it please your

<sup>1</sup> Townley's *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, II., 247. London, 1821.



highness, such a subject is fit for such a reader.' At last, the preacher . . . declared that he 'was now better reconciled to the Greek tongue, because it was derived from the Hebrew.' Upon which, the king, who was amazed at the ignorance of the man, dismissed him; but with an express charge, that he should never again preach at court."<sup>1</sup>

At Cambridge there was the same opposition; yet the study of the Scriptures was thought to be open to all. Erasmus, however, tells us, that one college at least, at Cambridge, forbade the study of the New Testament. But whatever the opposition, there arose very early a true spirit of inquiry. For it was here Tyndale first met with Erasmus' New Testament. Here also John Fryth, with his knowledge of mathematics, obtained a personal knowledge of the saving power of the Gospel. Here, likewise, Thomas Bilney, troubled in spirit, when he could find no hope or comfort from the penances imposed by the Church of Rome, purchased a New Testament, and in reading the passage, This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief, he says: "This one sentence, through God's instruction and inward teaching, which I did not then perceive, did so exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sins, and being almost in despair, that immediately I felt a marvellous comfort and quietness, insomuch that *my bruised bones leapt for joy*."<sup>2</sup> The conversion of Bilney seems to have been the beginning of a genuine revival of religion. Having found Jesus in his own experience, he was zealous in his efforts to lead others to him. Among his first converts were Thomas Arthur and Hugh Latimer. The latter had been a zealous papist. He was witty, sarcastic, and eloquent, and bid fair to become the successful champion of the Romish Church against the New opinions now becoming so prevalent. But Bilney, observing his misguided zeal, went to his chamber and desired him to hear his

<sup>1</sup> Townley's *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, II., pp. 248, 249.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson's *Annals*, pp. 59, 60. London, 1862.

confession. "The hearing whereof," says Fuller, "(improved by God's Spirit) so wrought on *Lalimer*, that of almost a *Persecutour*, he became a zealous *Promoter* of the Truth."<sup>1</sup> His "blunt preaching," as Fuller characterizes it, was remarkable for its plainness and simplicity in matter, and seriousness and fervency in manner. Dr. Robert Barnes was another one of the converts of Bilney. After Barnes returned from the continent he introduced a higher standard of learning at the University, "where by his readings, disputations and preaching, he became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, preaching ever against Bishops and Hypocrites; and yet did not see . . . his outward idolatry . . . till that good Master Bilney . . . converted him wholly unto Christ."

These brethren were inspired with a true evangelical spirit. Not only did they preach to the students and those who flocked to hear them, but carried the Gospel into prisons and lazar houses of the city. Not only so, but leaving the town they traveled from place to place, preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom. Thus began a revival of true religion and Apostolical preaching. And from what we learn of the times, such revival was sadly needed. The discourses pronounced by the monks and friars, says Burnet, "on the Holy-days, were rather Panagyrics on the Saint, or the vain magnifying of some of their Reliques. . . . In Lent there was a more solemn and serious way of Preaching. . . . Yet these (discourses) generally tended to raise the value of some of the Laws of the Church, such as Abstinence at that time, Confession, with other Corporal Severities; or some of the little devices, that both inflamed a blind Devotion, and drew Money; such as Indulgences, Pilgrimages, or the enriching the Shrines, and Reliques of the Saints. . . . And the design of their Sermons was rather to raise a present heat, which they knew afterwards how to manage, than to work a real Reformation on their Hearers."<sup>2</sup> But the

<sup>1</sup> *Church History of Britain, The History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 102. London, 1655. Also *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, p. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Reformation*, I., 313, 317. London, 1681.

true preaching of the Gospel prevailed, and societies of "Christian Broders" were formed in London, Cambridge, Oxford, and other places. Bible readers and lay preachers also, to the great horror of the spirituality, greatly aided in the spread of the New opinions. Too little is known of the labors of such men as "Old Father Hacker," who to the service of Bible reader afterwards added that of New Testament distributor. The particulars of his labors as he went from house to house, reading and expounding the Scriptures, must be left to easy conjecture, while history relates the facts of his arrest, examination, and persecution by the bishop of London.<sup>1</sup> The Church in the house had existed secretly among the Lollards for more than a century, but now it began to seek a more open expression and recognition. At first these Christian brethren, like the Lollards, met in secret for conference, prayer, and reading the Scriptures, but as their numbers increased, and persecution abated, they grew more hopeful and bold.

In the mean time the work received a new impetus from the introduction of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament. These newly-printed Testaments were scattered broadcast, and the people gathered them up gladly, for they contained the word of God in their own tongue. This English Testament of Tyndale did for the common people what the Greek Testament of Erasmus had done for the Cambridge doctors. The tree of learning is now bearing its legitimate fruit. Tyndale's purpose is realized in that the people with the New Testament in their own language may read and judge for themselves as to the truth or error of what is preached to them. Arthur and Bilney not only go from place to place preaching, but they distribute these Testaments; while Hugh Latimer maintains publicly from the pulpit in Cambridge: "That the Holy Scriptures ought to be read in the *English Tongue* of all Christen People, whether they were Priests or Lay-men."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D'Aubigne's *Hist. of Ref.*, V., 384. Also pages 104, 105, above.

<sup>2</sup> Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, B. III., Ch. XVIII., p. 369. London, 1694.

Whereupon the papists said: "If Latimer so extol the blessings of Scripture, we must by a sermon show its dangers." The adroit Prior Buckingham is chosen to combat from the pulpit the heresy of reading the Scriptures in English. But listen to his arguments, and mark his folly. Imitating Latimer's celebrated Card Sermon, and "thinkyng to make a great hand agaynst M. Latymer, . . . brought out his Christenmas dice. Castyng there to his audience, cinque and quater; meanyng by the cinque fiue places in the new Testament, and the foure Doctours by the quater, by which his cinque quater, he would proue that it was not expedient the Scripture to be in Englishe, lest the ignoraunt and vulgare sort through the occasion thereof, might happely be brought in daunger to leaue their vocation, or else to runne into some inconuenience: As for example the Plowman when he heareth this in the Gospel; *No man that layth his hand on the plowgh, and looketh backe, is meete for the kingdome of God*, might peraduenture hearyng this, cease from his plough. Likewise the Baker when he heareth that *a litle leauen corrupteth a whole lumpe of dow*, may percase leaue our bread unleauened, and so our bodyes shalbe unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the Gospell: *If thyne eye offende thee, plucke it out, and cast it from thee*, may make him selfe blind, and so fill the world full of beggars. These with other mo, this Clerkely Friar brought out to the number of fiue, to proue his purpose."<sup>1</sup>

In the afternoon of the same day, an eager throng "as well of the Uniuersitie as of the town, both Doctors and other graduates," gathered in the church to hear the reply of Latimer. In the course of his sermon Latimer so ridiculed the friar's "bold reasons" drawn from the improbable actions of ploughmen, bakers, and "simple men," should they be permitted to read the Scriptures, that "the vanitie of the Frier might to all men appeare." Then taking up the subject of figurative language he explained its use not only in Scripture but in common speech, adding that "euery speech hath his Metaphors

<sup>1</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1904. 1596.

and lyke figuratiue significations, so common and vulgar to all men that the very Paynters do paynt them in walles and in houses; As for example (saith he, looking towards the Friar that sat ouer agaynst hym) when they paynt a foxe preaching out of a Friars coule, none is so mad to take this to be a foxe that preacheth, but know well enough the meanyng of the matter, which is to paynt out vnto vs, what hypocrisie, craft, and subtile dissimulation lyeth hyd many times in these friers coules, willyng vs therby to beware of them. In fine, Friar Buckingham with this Sermon was so bashed, that neuer after he durst peepe out of the Pulpit agaynst M. Latymer."<sup>1</sup> This took place in the winter of 1529. The friars and monks were elated by Buckingham's sermon. They said: "These heretics are silenced." But after Latimer had replied, the bishops said: "We must cease to reason and apply authority. The best way to answer these Gospellers is to prevent their speaking." This counsel prevailed, and soon after Latimer was silenced by his bishop, and persecution on account of religious opinion began afresh.

During these years there was a quiet student at Cambridge who was the pupil of Friar Barnes. He was carried away, as were others, with the eloquence of Latimer and Bilney. He belonged to the brotherhood of the Augustines, but was in sympathy with the reformers, and attended the assemblies at the "White Horse," where the Gospellers met for mutual help and instruction.<sup>2</sup> This friend and pupil of Barnes was Myles Coverdale. Very little is known of his early life. The year 1488 is put down by his biographers as the date of his birth.<sup>3</sup> He was educated at Cambridge in the house of the Augustine friars, and assumed priest's orders about the year 1514. When Dr. Barnes was arrested and taken to London to answer before Cardinal Wolsey, at the close of the year 1526, Coverdale ac-

<sup>1</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> In mockery these friends of the Gospel were styled *Germans*, stigmatizing them as followers of Luther.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorials of Myles Coverdale*, p. 1. London, 1838.

accompanied him. By the decision of the Cardinal the only alternative left to Barnes was either "to abjure or burn." Strongly urged by his friends he chose the former, and by the injunction laid upon him performed a most humiliating penance at St. Paul's, at which the Cardinal and his retinue attended in great pomp. The master fallen, the scholar took warning. It is recorded of Coverdale that from this time "he gave himself wholly up to propagating the truth of the gospel."<sup>1</sup> Cromwell was a friend and patron of Coverdale. As early as 1527 they met at the house of Sir Thomas More, when Cromwell advised him to enter upon the study of sacred learning; but warned him against a too open expression of his evangelical sentiments. For, though Cromwell was in sympathy with the New opinions, yet he was shrewd and politic. Coverdale, acting upon the advice of his friend, gave himself to study; but his sympathy with Bilney and Latimer in their work of preaching the Gospel, together with a report of a religious meeting held in the county of Essex, drew him from his retreat. For five or six years the leaven of the Gospel had been working among the people, and with the circulation of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament the spirit of inquiry was increased, resulting in a genuine revival of religion.

In 1527, John Tyball, of Bumstede, in Essex, according to his own deposition, visited Friar Barnes in London,<sup>2</sup> and obtained from him a New Testament in English. He and Thomas Hilles had sought the acquaintance of Barnes, because they heard that he was a good man, and "wold have his counsel in the New Testament." Further they showed the said Barnes, that "one Sir Richard Fox, curate of Bumstede, by ther means was wel entred into ther lernyng; & sayd, that they thowghte to gett hym hole in shorte space." Whereupon they desired Barnes that he would write a letter

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of My's Coverdale*, pp. 11, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Barnes, after his humiliation, was sent to the Fleet, where he was confined for six months; but afterwards he was made a free prisoner at the Augustine Friars, in London, where he received visits from his brethren.

to the curate exhorting him, "that he wold continew in that he had begon."<sup>1</sup> The curate did so continue and with him also a grey friar of Colchester, who was another one of Tyball's converts. At this same Colchester, which was in the county of Essex, there lived a worthy man named John Pykas. He had received a manuscript copy of Paul's Epistles from his mother, with this advice: "lyve after the maner and way of the said Epistoles and Gospels, and not after the way that the church doth teche." Afterward he bought in Colchester a New Testament in English, and "payd for it foure shillings,"<sup>2</sup> . . . . . he kept and read it thorowghly many tymes." Having himself accepted the truth of the Gospel, he began to teach it to others, affirming: that "there is no baptysm, but of the Holy Ghost," that confession must needs be made to God, and not "made to a pryst," and that men "should pray only to God and to no saints." After hearing Bilney preach at Ipswich, he pronounced the sermon "most goostly and made best for his purpose and opinions, as any that ever he herd in his lyef."<sup>3</sup>

It was this revival at Bumstede that attracted Coverdale, and he preached there in the spring of 1528. Among his hearers was an Augustine monk named Topley, who was supplying the place of Friar Fox in his absence. Topley had recently read Wycliffe's Wicket, a book belonging to Fox, and his mind was sore troubled. But through the public preaching and private instruction of Coverdale he found peace in believing in Jesus as his only Saviour. These "brothren in Christ," as they called themselves, held frequent Gospel meetings in private houses, also in the halls of great mansions. These Gospellers were characterized by their boldness and self assertion. They already claimed to be a Church because "we pray in common . . . and that constitutes a Church." Latimer, Coverdale and Bilney, willingly

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, V., App. 368, 369.

<sup>2</sup> Equal in modern values to about \$15.00.

<sup>3</sup> Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, I., 123, 124.

recognized these incomplete societies in which the members met simply as disciples.<sup>1</sup>

The Romish bishops watched this religious movement with great uneasiness; and they determined to check it. Public visitations were appointed; and the suspected and accused were severely dealt with. Among others Coverdale was accused before the bishop of London. In a quiet way, however, he was withdrawn from public notice. Possibly this was done through the intervention of his patron, both for the sake of safety and for his appointed work of translating the Scriptures. The whereabouts of Coverdale from 1528 to 1536, is left almost entirely to conjecture. According to Foxe, he went at the close of 1528 to Hamburg, by appointment, to aid Tyndale in translating the Pentateuch. Though the story of Foxe enters into particulars and would seem to have had some foundation, yet so far as the laboring together of Coverdale and Tyndale is concerned, the probabilities are against it. The patronage of Cromwell is against any such prearrangement. Coverdale was doubtless in sympathy with Tyndale in his work, but he was more, though not altogether, in sympathy with Cromwell and the moderate party, who favored the Bible in English, but wished the translation from the Latin to be in Romish phrase. Constitutionally and practically Coverdale was a compromiser, and his "speciall translacyon" was undertaken as a compromise. However, "Not as a checker," he says, "not as a reprobuer, or despyser of other mens translacyons."<sup>2</sup> Coverdale sets forth the spirit of his undertaking, when he says: "Be not thou offended therfore (good Reader) though one call a scribe, that another calleth a lawyer; or elders, that another calleth father and mother; or repentaunce, that another calleth pennaunce or amendment. For yf thou be not disceaued by

<sup>1</sup> D'Aubigne's *History of the Reformation*, V., 384. Am. Tr. Soc. edition, N. D.

<sup>2</sup> *Prologue*, Coverdale's *Bible*, p. 2. Bagster's Reprint, London, N. D.



mens tradicions thou shalt fynde nomore dyuersite betwene these termes then betwene foure pens and a grote. And this maner have I vsed in my translacyon, callyng it in some place pennaunce, that in another place I call repentaunce, and that not onely because the interpreters haue done so before me, but that the aduersaries of the trueth may se, how that we abhorre not this worde pennaunce (as they vntruly reporte of vs) no more then the interpreters of latyn abhorre *penitere*, whan they reade *resipiscere*. Onely our hartes desyre vnto God, is, that his people be not blynded in theyr vnderstondyng, lest they beleue pennaunce to be ought saue a very repentaunce, amendment, or conuersyon vnto God, and to be an vnfayned new creature in Christ, and to lyue acordyng to his lawe. For els shall they fal in to the olde blasphemy of Christes bloude, and beleue, that they them selues are able to make satisfaccion vnto God for theyr awne synnes, from the which erreure god of his mercy and plenteous goodnes preserue ail his."<sup>1</sup> Though Coverdale's work as a translator was undertaken as a compromise, yet he yielded nothing of his evangelical spirit, neither does he in the least compromise his conscience.

For further evidence that Coverdale was under the patronage of Cromwell, we have his letter written to Cromwell in 1531, or 1532, in which, after referring to their conversation at the house of Sir Thomas More, he adds: "Now I begyne to taste of Holy Schryptures; . . . with the godly savour of holy and awncyent Doctoures, vnto whose knowlege I can not attayne, without dyversyte of bookys. . . . Nothyng in the world I desyre, but bookys. . . . Morover as tuchyng my behavoure (your Mastyrshypes mynde onse knowne) wyth all lowlynes I offer my self, not only to be ordred in all thynges, as schall pleyse your wysdome."<sup>2</sup> If the conjectured date of this letter be correct then in 1531, Coverdale was at Cambridge and entering upon the work of translating the

<sup>1</sup> *Prologue, Coverdale's Bible*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorials of Coverdale, App* No. 1, p. 193. London, 1838.

Bible. But whether at home or abroad, he labors in secret. It is an open question whether Coverdale had other patrons than Cromwell. Some have thought that Sir Thomas More was at least aware of Coverdale's enterprise. Evidently there were those who took a substantial interest in his work, since he himself declares that he was emboldened to undertake it as "other men were moved to do the cost thereof."

Year by year Tyndale's New Testament made friends for the Gospel, and also stirred up the hatred of its enemies. Between these two extremes there sprang up a moderate party, of which Coverdale was a leading representative. There were many curates that were well learned, who were exhorting their parishioners "to believe contrary to the Catholic faith." Bishop Nix, in May, 1530, wrote: "There is a Colledg in *Cambridg*, called *Gunnel haule*, of the foundation of a Bp. of *Norwich*. I hear of no clerk, that hath commen out lately of that Colledg, but savoryth of the frying pan, tho he speak never so holily."<sup>1</sup> In this same letter the good bishop complains both of the number and boldness of these heretics and of their boast: "that the Kings pleasure is, the N. Testament in *English* shal go forth, and men sholde have it and read it." Furthermore, that some "crakyth in the Kingsname, that their false opinions shold go forth, and wil dy in the quarrel, that their ungracious opinions be true, and trustyth by *Michaelmas* day, there shal be more that shal beleve of thair opinion, than they that beleivyth the contrary."<sup>2</sup> The object of this letter was that he might obtain royal letters conferring authority to suppress by force these *false* opinions.

There was some grounds for supposing that Henry VIII. at this time was not altogether opposed to the circulation of the Scriptures in English, though Bishop Nix would have it otherwise. About this time a convocation was called to pronounce upon certain heretical books, including the English

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*. App., Num. XII., p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15.

New Testament.<sup>1</sup> Bishops and learned men from the Universities were summoned to the council, and each was to have the liberty "to say what his own learning and conscience could maintain and justify."<sup>2</sup> This was a notable conference. Freedom of speech was granted to all to utter their opinions without any necessity of agreeing with the majority, or fear of any blame to be imputed to them. The council met on the 24th of May, 1530, in the Star chamber, the king presiding. The leading question before the council was, whether "it was his (the king's) duetie to cawse the Scripture of God to be translated into English tonge to be communicate unto the people; and that the prelates and also his highnes doo wronge in denyng or letting (hindring) of the same; his highnes therefor willed every man there present in the said assemble, freely and frankly to shewe and open unto him what might be proved and confirmed by Scripture and holy doctours in that behalf, to the entent that his highnes, as he there openly protestid, myght conforme himself thereunto, mynding to doo his dutie towards his people, as he wolde they shulde doo their duties towards him." But after both sides had been heard, "fynally it appered, that having of the hole Scripture in Englysshe is not necessarye to cristen men. . . . . Wherein forasmuche as the kings highnes, by the advise and deliberation of his counceill. . . . thinkith in his conscience that the divulging of this Scripture at this tyme in Englysshe tonge, to be committed to the people, considering such pestilente books, and so evill opynyons as be now spred amonge them, shulde rather be to their further confusion and destruction then the edification of their soules."<sup>3</sup> These were the views as advocated and decided by the Romish party. But that they were strongly combated there can be no doubt, since further along in the report, which is from the pen of Archbishop Warham,

<sup>1</sup> The books condemned by this council were such as, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*; *The Supplication of Beggars*; *The Matrimony of Tyndale*; and Tyndale's *New Testament*.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorials of Coverdale*, p. 32. London, 1838.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 32-34.

we are told that "his highnes did there openlye saye and protest, that he woulde cause the Newe Testament to be by lerned men faithfully and purely translated into Englishe tonge, to the entent he might have it in his handes redy to be geuyn to his people, as he might se their manners and behavoure mete, apte, and convenient to receyve the same."<sup>1</sup> From which it would seem that Henry VIII. was not unfavorable to the circulation of a faithful version of the New Testament. Hall, in his *Chronicles*, affirms that the king commanded the bishops, with the assistance of learned men from the Universities, to cause a new translation to be made. So far as known, however, nothing was done.<sup>2</sup>

The proclamation which followed the decision of this council, was decidedly in the interests of the papists. In view of which Latimer wrote a bold letter to the king, which shows not only the earnest spirit of the reformer, but the conflict of opinion then raging. "But as concerning this matter," wrote Latimer, "other men haue shewed your grace their myndes, how necessary it is to haue the Scripture in English. The which thing also your grace hath promised by your last Proclamation; the which promise I pray God that your gracious highnes may shortly performe, euen to day before to morrow. . . . And so as concernynge your last proclamation prohibityng such bokes, the very true cause of it, and chief Counsellours (as men say, and of likelihode it should be) were they whose euill liuing and cloked hipocrisie these bookes uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that there were iii or iiij (in the conuocation) that would haue had the Scripture to go forth in English, yet it happened there, as it is euermore seene, that the most part ouercometh the better, and so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs set forth in your name."<sup>3</sup>

This council of 1530, though called in the interests of the

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Coverdale*, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, pp. 1916-1919.

spirituality, is important as showing the demand of the people for the Scriptures in their own tongue. Also it is the first time that the question of Bible translation as a matter of expediency had been discussed in open council. Notwithstanding the authoritative exhortation of Archbishop Warham "that the people should decline from their arrogancy of knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures, and meekly await the movement of their superiors, making no further demands," their impatience increased. During the years 1531 and 1532, appeared Tyndale's version of the Pentateuch and the book of Jonah, which helped to create a demand for a translation of the whole Bible. In evidence of this, we have the recorded action of the convocation of 1534. "The Bishops, Abbots, Priors, of this Upper House of Convocation, of the Province of *Canterbury*, met together in the Chapter House of *St. Paul*; unanimously did consent, that the most Reverend Father the Archbishop, should make instance in their Names to the King, that his Majesty, would vouchsafe, . . . to decree, that the Scriptures should be translated into the Vulgar Tongue by some honest and learned Men, to be nominated by the King, and to be delivered unto the People according to their Learning."<sup>1</sup> As this motion was made by Archbishop Cranmer, Strype says that they agreed upon him as the proper person to present the petition. But "they clogged it with another that the Archbishop did not so well approve," which was to the effect, that all persons having books in English, or of suspected doctrine, were warned to bring them within three months to persons to be appointed by the king, "under a certain Pain to be limited by the King."<sup>2</sup> No immediate results can be traced to this action; yet on account of it, this convocation holds an important place in the history of English versions of the Bible, in that the papists, now for the first time, accede to the right of the people to have the Bible in their own tongue.

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, B. I., Ch. VI., p. 24. London, 1694.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 24.

Not long after this "the Archbishop," says Strype, "whose Mind ran very much upon bringing in the free use of the Holy Scripture in English among the People, put on vigorously a Translation of it." He began with the New Testament, taking an (old) English translation, dividing it into nine or ten parts, "causing each Part to be written at large in a paper Book and then to be sent to the best Learned Bishops and others: to the intent that they should make a perfect Correction thereof." After which they were to return the same to him "by a day limited for that purpose."<sup>1</sup> This enterprise of Cranmer, and the readiness with which the learned bishops entered into it, attests the progress of the reformed opinions, since all the bishops, excepting one, complied with the requirements of the archbishop. Even Gardiner, who so strenuously opposed in the council the resolutions relating to the translation of the Bible, diligently corrected the portion assigned to him. "Nevertheless I have," he wrote, "as gret cause as any man to desire rest and quiet for the helth of my body; whereunto I thought to have entended, and to abstayne from bookes and wryting, having finished the translation of Saynt Luke and Saynt John, wherein I have spent a gret labour."<sup>2</sup> But Bishop Stokesley, instead of returning his portion after correcting it as requested, wrote to the archbishop a crispish letter, in which he said: "I marvel what my Lord of *Canterbury* meaneth, that thus abuseth the People, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures; which doth nothing else but infect them with Heresy. I have bestowed never an Hour upon my Portion, nor never will. And therefore my Lord shall have this Book again, for I never will be guilty of bringing the simple People into Error."<sup>3</sup>

During these years of conflict and ineffectual effort, Coverdale has been at work in secret, till now at last his translation is ready for the press. It was printed abroad, probably at

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Memoria's of Archbishop Cranmer*, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorials of Myles Coverdale*, p. 48. London, 1838.

<sup>3</sup> Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 34.

Zurich, by Christopher Froschover, in the year 1535, and finished on the fourth day of October. There are various suppositions as to the place of printing of Coverdale's Bible. Besides Zurich, Frankfort and Antwerp put in their claims. "Indeed, most of the cities of Germany come in for their share of the honor."<sup>1</sup> The evidence, favoring any given place, is limited, for the most part, to the types or woodcuts used by a given printer at that time, with which the types and cuts of this Bible are thought to correspond. But the boldest and most unsatisfactory supposition is that of Mr. Henry Stevens, as set forth in the Caxton Catalogue, wherein he affirms that the Coverdale Bible was printed at Antwerp, and that Jacob Van Meteren, and not Coverdale, was the translator. Mr. Stevens publishes this assertion in somewhat of a sensational style, and with all the zest of a new discovery, confidently believing that he has cleared away all the uncertainties that have hitherto hung over the authorship of the Coverdale Bible. But his statements fail to carry conviction with them. Dr. Moulton, in his recent "History of the English Bible," says, in opposition to the claims put forth by Mr. Stevens in favor of Van Meteren, "that the *translation* was by any other hand than Coverdale's we should be very slow to believe."<sup>2</sup> To Myles Coverdale, therefore, must still be accredited the honor of giving to England the first translation of the whole Bible printed in English. The following is the title of a copy in the library of the Duke of Sussex, which was reprinted by Bagster, and reads: "Biblia, the Bible, that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated in to Englishe,—M.D.XXXV.—S. Paul, II. Tessa, III. *Praie for vs, that the worde of God maie haue fre passage, and be glorified, &c.*" This title occupies a small square in the middle of the page, and is inclosed by a border of woodcuts illustrating scenes both of the Old and New Testaments. The cut extending across the top of the page represents, the *Fall and Redemption*. The small squares on the right represent,

<sup>1</sup> *Caxton Catalogue*, p. 88. London, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> *Note*, p. 99.

the *Giving of the law*, and *Ezra reading the book of the law to the people*; and on the left, *Christ showing himself after his resurrection*, and *Peter preaching to the people*. The cut extending across the bottom of the page, represents *Henry VIII. on his throne, presenting a clasped Bible to his bishops, who kneel on his right, while the peers of the realm kneel on his left*. On the extreme right in this cut, there is a full-length figure of *King David playing on a harp*, with a connecting scroll bearing an appropriate inscription; so on the extreme left there is a corresponding full-length figure of the *Apostle Paul*, with a scroll bearing the inscription, *I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God*. Ro. I. Sebald Beham is the supposed author of these cuts. He was an engraver at Nuremburg and flourished about this time. His pictures, as well as his engravings, were held in the highest esteem by his cotemporaries.<sup>1</sup>

In respect to the titles of Coverdale's Bibles much has been made of the fact that in the earliest copies the title in some reads: "Faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to English," while in others the title reads simply: "Faithfully and truly translated into English." The specification, *out of Douche and Latyn*, is pronounced by some as a "book-selling artifice of the time, to make the work circulate better"; by others as the honest insertion of Coverdale. The importance to be attached to this question is, that if inserted by Coverdale, it settles the question that he did not translate directly from the Hebrew. And yet Coverdale was not without some knowledge of the Hebrew, "by which he was guided at times in selecting his renderings; but in the main his version is based on the Swiss-German version of Zwingli and Leo Juda, . . . and on the Latin of Pagninus."<sup>2</sup> Again, there is a manifest disagreement in the dedicating prologue to Henry VIII., which in some copies specify Queen Anne "as the dearest wyfe and most virtuous pryncesse;" while others of

<sup>1</sup> Chalmer's *Biographical Dictionary*. Art.—*Beham (Sebald)*.

<sup>2</sup> Westcott's *History of the Eng. Bible*, p. 169. London, 1872.



the same date, 1535, insert the name of Queen Jane, notwithstanding the fact that she was not married to Henry till in May, 1536. Lewis seeks to explain this inconsistency by the supposition that Coverdale, hearing that Anne Boleyn was declining in the king's favor, deferred the publication till his marriage with Jane Seymour. Anderson adopts the same theory; but it has been exploded by the showing of Mr. Fry, that all the dedications in which the name of Queen Jane appears are from the editions of 1537; which dedications were transferred to the editions of 1535-36, and that the insertion was not at that time deemed inappropriate.<sup>1</sup>

The dedication extends over five quarto pages, and must have been sufficiently adulatory even for that age, while it sounds belittling to our ears. This is followed by a prologue by Myles Coverdale "vnto the Christen Reader," which is written in a very different spirit. The prologue closes with the following exhortation: "Finally who so euer thou be, take these wordes of scripture in to thy herte, and be not only an outward hearer, but a doer thereafter, and practyse thyselfe therin; that thou mayest fele in thine hert, the swete promyses therof for thy consolacion in all trouble, and for the sure stablishinge of thy hope in Christ, and haue euer an eye to y<sup>e</sup> wordes of scripture, that yf thou be a teacher of other thou mayest be within the boundes of the trueth, or at leest though thou be but a hearer or reader of another mans doynge, thou mayest yet haue knowlege to judge all spretes, and be fre from euery erreure, to the utter destruccion of all sedicious sectes and straunge doctrynes, that the holy scripiture maye haue fre passage, and be had in reputacion, to the worshippe of the author therof, which is euen God himselfe; to whom for his most blessed worde be glory and domynion now and euer."<sup>2</sup> The evangelical spirit of Coverdale is not only manifest in this extract, but also throughout the whole prologue. It was in this same spirit he executed the translation. He was grieved

<sup>1</sup> Westcott's *History of the Eng. Bible*, p. 59, note. London, 1872.

<sup>2</sup> Coverdale's *Bible. Prologue*, p. 5. 1535.

that other nations should be more plenteously supplied with the Scriptures in their own tongue than his own, "therefore whan I was instantly (urgently) requyred," he says, "though I coulde not do so well as I wolde, I thought it yet my dewtye to do my best, and that with a good wyll."<sup>1</sup>

From the tenor of the dedication we may infer that Coverdale expected a favorable reception for his translation at the hands of the king. In his extravagant comparisons, Henry VIII. becomes not only "oure Moses," to deliver out of the darkness "of olde Egypte from the cruell handes of our spirit-uall Pharao," but a very Josiah, in whose time the word of God is found again, and who commands, "that the lawe of God shulde be redde and taught vnto all y<sup>e</sup> people."<sup>2</sup> The first edition of Coverdale's Bible appeared at the beginning of the year 1536, under auspices unfavorable so far as its reception was based upon the active favor of Anne Boleyn, who had now fallen into such disgrace, that her tragic end drew very near.<sup>3</sup> The edition was issued, however, under royal sanction, but with no special privileges. Notwithstanding Coverdale's compromises, in the rendering of certain ecclesiastical words, and the leaving out of objectionable prologues and glosses found in Tyndale, his translation met with no favor at the hands of the Romish bishops. This appears from the fact, that in the convocation of June 9, 1536, a petition was agreed upon, to be presented to the king, for a new translation of the Bible. The

<sup>1</sup> Coverdale's *Bible. Prologue*, p. 1.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid. Dedication*, pp. 4, 5.

"A little before Noon, being the 19th of May, (1536), she was brought to the scaffold, where she made a short Speech to a great company. . . . The chief of whom were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Richmond*, the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary *Cromwell*, with the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London*. She said, 'she was come to die, as she was judged by the Law; she would accuse none, nor say anything of the ground upon which she was judged.' She prayed heartily for the King; . . . And so she took her leave of them and the World. . . . After she had been some time in her devotions, her last words being, *To Christ I commend my Soul*; her Head was cut off by the Hangman of Calais." *Burnet's Hist. Ref.*, I., 205.

substance of this petition was, that the king would graciously indulge his subjects of the laity the reading of the Bible in the English tongue, and that a new translation might be forthwith made. But there is no evidence that this petition was ever presented, or at least ever acted upon.<sup>1</sup> The injunction of Cromwell, issued about this time, must have referred to Coverdale's Bible, as it was at that time the only printed edition extant. There is some doubt as to whether the injunction was ever published, and yet it must have had a place in the original draft. On account of the bearing of this injunction on the history of Coverdale's Bible, it deserves notice. As recorded by Foxe, it is the seventh *item* among the injunctions "Given by the authority of the King to the clergy of his realm in the year 1536," and reads: "That euery person or proprietary of anye parish Church within this realme, shall on this side the feast of S. Peter *ad vincula* next comming, prouide a booke of the whole Bible, both in Laten and also in English, and laye the same in the queere for euery man that wil, to loke and read thereon, and shall discourage no man from the reading of any part of the Bible either in Laten or English, but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish euery man to reade the same, as the very word of God, and the spirituall foode of mans soule, whereby they may the better knowe their dueties to God, to their soueraigne Lord the kyng, and theyr neyghbour, euer gentilly and charitably exhorting them, that using a sober and a modest behauiour in the reading and inquisition of the true sense of the same, they do in no wyse stifly or egerlye contend or striue one with another, about the same, but referre the declaration of those places that be in controuersie, to the iudgement of them that be better learned."<sup>2</sup>

In the first ecclesiastical council under Henry VIII., called

<sup>1</sup> Lewis' *Hist. of Eng. Translations of the Bible*, p. 103. London, 1789.

<sup>2</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1248. The injunction differs materially from that of 1538, which favors the supposition that as an important *item* it belongs to the injunctions of 1536. And yet, because it does not appear in Cranmer's *Register*, or in Wilkins' *Concilia*, it is probable that it was never published. Compare Eadie's *Eng. Bible*, I., 264, note.

in 1536 for the purpose of an authoritative recognition of his divorce, as well as for settling certain articles of religious faith, the Protestants and Papists were about equally divided. Fuller quaintly says, that the instrument of divorce was subscribed to by all, "the Papists willingly, the Protestants faintly, but all publickly."<sup>1</sup> But while the bishops were contending in high council about certain articles in religion, and a new translation of the Bible, the people were reading the Scriptures and forming their own religious opinions. Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford, boldly declared in this council, "that they could not by sophistical subtilties steal out of the world again the light which every man doth see. . . . The people do now know the Holy Scripture better than many of us."<sup>2</sup> For ten years the people had been familiar with Tyndale's printed New Testament, and for some five or six years with parts of the Old Testament of Tyndale's translation, and now from the hand of Coverdale they receive the whole Bible in print. That it was favorably received by the people we have strong evidence in the fact, that the first edition was exhausted during the year 1536, and that in 1537 two editions, one in folio and the other in quarto, were published by James Nycolson of Southwark, and "*Set forth with the Kynges most gracious licence.*"<sup>3</sup> Besides, there was another issue of Coverdale's Bible in 1550, which was reprinted in 1553.<sup>4</sup>

As a translator Coverdale did not claim to be independent. In his prologue to the Christian reader he says: "To helpe me herin, I haue had sondrye translacions not only in latyn but also of the Douche interpreters : whom (because of theyr synguler gyftes and speciaall diligence in the Bible) I haue ben the more glad to folowe for the most parte, accordynge as I was requyred."<sup>5</sup> These "sondrye translacions" probably were the

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, B. V., pp. 208-213. London, 1685.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson's *Annals*, p. 256. London, 1862.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 291.

<sup>4</sup> "The edition of 1550 was published in London by Andrew Hester, with the strange misprint of: '*By Mayst. Thomas Matthewe.*'"

<sup>5</sup> Coverdale's *Bible*, *Prologue*, p. 1. Bagster's Reprint, N. D.

Vulgate, Jerome's version, 385, 405 ; the Swiss-German or Zurich Bible, 1524, 1529 ; the Latin version of Pagninus,<sup>1</sup> translated from the Hebrew in 1518, but not printed till 1528 ; also Tyndale's New Testament, 1525 ; and his Pentateuch, 1530. The language of Coverdale in respect to his use of these *helps* is not inconsistent with his taking the Hebrew as the base of his translation. There was at least one celebrated Hebrew scholar and teacher in England as early as 1520. This was Robert Wakefield, who was educated at Cambridge. He went abroad to study the oriental languages. In 1519 he taught Hebrew at Louvain. In a few months afterward he returned home and became chaplain to Dr. Pace. In 1530 he was made public professor of Hebrew at Oxford.<sup>2</sup> So far, then, as an opportunity for the obtaining it, there is no improbability in Coverdale's having a knowledge of the Hebrew language. And yet it is a mooted question whether or not he translated from the Hebrew. Whittaker argues in its favor, and is followed by Anderson. Eadie, after Westcott, confutes Whittaker at great length, and asserts that Coverdale's translation of the Old Testament "is not taken at all from the original Hebrew, either professedly or in fact ; but is only a secondary translation, based chiefly on the Swiss-German or Zurich Bible."<sup>3</sup> But Tregelles claims that Coverdale's translation is not only based upon the Hebrew, but "that even the Hebrew edition which he used can be pointed out."<sup>4</sup> From the above, and also from internal evidence,<sup>5</sup> it is reasonable to conclude that Coverdale made use of the Hebrew, though he was "requyred to folowe for the most parte sondrye translacions." His conscientiousness as a translator cannot be called in ques-

<sup>1</sup> The version of Sanctes Pagninus was the work of twenty-five years, and has been extolled by Jews and Christians as the best Latin translation ever made from the Hebrew, the translation of Jerome not excepted.

<sup>2</sup> Chalmer's *Dict.*, Art. *Wakefield, Rob't*, XXX., 486. London, 1816.

<sup>3</sup> Eadie's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, I., 285.

<sup>4</sup> *Historic Evidence of the Authorship of the New Testament*, p. 82, note. London, 1852.

<sup>5</sup> See above, page 155.

tion. "I haue nether wrested nor altered," he says, "so moch as one worde for the mayntenaunce of any maner of secte ; but haue with a cleare conscience purely and faythfully translated this out of fyue sundry interpreters, hauynge onely the manyfest trueth of the scripture before myne eyes."<sup>1</sup> He had an exalted appreciation of what the Scripture would do for the people. "The onely worde of God," he says, "is the cause of all felicity. . . . And why? because it is geuen by the inspiracyon of God."<sup>2</sup> And it was this word, by whomsoever ministered, that he was desirous to have go forth to the people. And if he sometimes studied plainness of meaning at the expense of conciseness of expression, he but followed Tyndale and his other interpreters, particularly the Zurich Bible. And yet, if possible, the style of Coverdale is more remarkable for its simplicity than that of Tyndale. "No little of that indefinable quality," says Eadie, "that gives popular charm to our English Bible, and has endeared it to so many generations, is owing to Coverdale."<sup>3</sup> Especially is this true of the Psalms and the Prophetical books. The English Church to this day reads in her Prayer-book, Coverdale's version of the Psalms with very few changes, and even these are for the most part verbal, so that essentially the version of 1535 is retained. Not only the English Prayer-book, but our present version of the Psalms is indebted to Coverdale for its rhythmic flow and strength of expression. As illustrating the indebtedness of our English Bible to Coverdale, as well as showing the richness and simplicity of his style, take the following Psalms—the first of which is put into modern spelling:

Ps. II. A. WHY do the Heathen grudge? Why do the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers are come together, against the LORD and against his anointed. Let us break their bonds asunder, and cast away their yoke from us. Nevertheless, he that dwelleth in heaven, shall laugh them to scorn; yea even the LORD himself shall have them in derision. Then shall he speak

<sup>1</sup> Coverdale's *Bible. Dedication to the King*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *History of English Bible*, I., 302.

unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure. Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Sion. As for me I will preach the law, whereof the LORD hath said unto me. Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee. Desire of me, and I shall give thee the  
**B.** Heathen for thine inheritance, Yea the utmost parts of the world, for thy possession. Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron, and break them in pieces like an earthen vessel. Be wise now therefore (O ye kings) be warned, ye that are judges of the earth. Serve the LORD with fear, and rejoice before him with reverence. Kiss the son, lest the LORD be angry, and so ye perish from the right way. For his wrath shall be kindled shortly: blessed are all they that put their trust in him.

Psalm XXII., which corresponds in number with the XXIII. Psalm of the Authorized version,<sup>1</sup> is here inserted with the original spelling and contractions:

Ps. XXII. THE LORDE is my shepherde, I can wante nothinge. He fedeth me in a greene pasture, and ledeth me to a fresh water. He quickeneth my soule, and bringeth me forth in the waye of rightuousnes for his names sake. Though I shulde walke now in the valley of the shadowe of death, yet I feare no euell, for thou art with me: thy staffe & thy shepehoke cōforte me. Thou preparest a table before me agaynst mine enemies: thou anoyntest my heade with oyle, & fyllest my cuppe full. Oh let thy louynge kyndnes & mercy folowe me all the dayes off my life, that I may dwell in the house off the LORDE for euer.

The same rhythmical flow so noticeable in Coverdale's translation of the Psalms is found likewise in his translation of the Prophetical books, while the style on account of the original is more stately and elevated. Take a portion of the fortieth chapter of Isaiah, with the spelling modernized, as an example:

Is. XL. A. BE of good cheer my people, be of good cheer (saith your God). Comfort Jerusalem, and tell her: that her travail

<sup>1</sup> In the numbering of the Psalms the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint version differ. Coverdale followed the Septuagint numbering, while our translations followed that of the Hebrew. Compare note on page 70 above.

is at an end, that her offense is pardoned, that she hath received of the LORD's hand sufficient correction for all her sins. A voice crieth : Prepare the way for the LORD in the Wilderness, make straight the path for our God in the desert. Let all valleys be exalted, and every mountain and hill be laid low. What so is crooked, let it be made straight, and let the rough places be made plain fields. For the glory of the LORD shall appear, and all flesh shall see it, for why, the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

The same voice spake : Now cry. And I said : What shall I cry ? Then spake it : that all flesh is grass, and that all the beauty thereof, is as the flower of the field. When the grass is withered, the flower falleth away. Even so is the people as grass, when the breath of the LORD bloweth upon them. Nevertheless whether the grass wither, or the flower fade away ; Yet the word of our God endureth for ever. Moreover the voice cried thus : Go up unto the hill (o Sion) thou that bringest good tidings ; lift up thy voice with power, O thou preacher Jerusalem. Lift it up without fear, and say unto the cities of Judah : Behold your God : behold the LORD, even the almighty shall come with power, and bear rule with his arm. Behold, he bringeth his treasure with him, and his works go before him. He shall feed his flock like an herdman. He shall gather the lambs together with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and shall kindly entreat those that bear young.

B.

The following specimens are given with the original spelling, contractions, and archaic forms retained :

Is. LXI. A. THE sprete of the LORDE God is with me, for y<sup>e</sup> LORDE hath anoynted me, & sent me, to preach good tydiges vnto the poore, y<sup>e</sup> I might bynde vp y<sup>e</sup> wounded hertes, y<sup>e</sup> I might preach delyueraunce to y<sup>e</sup> captyue, & open the preson to thē that are bounde : y<sup>e</sup> I might declare y<sup>e</sup> acceptable yeare of the LORDE & the daye of y<sup>e</sup> avēgeaunce of oure God : that I might comforte all them that are in heuy-nesse, that I might geue vnto them y<sup>e</sup> mourne in Sion, bewty in the steade of aashes, ioyful oyntmēt for sighinge, pleasaunt raymēt for an heuy mide : That they might be called excellent in rightuousnesse, a plātinge of the LORDE for him to reioyce in.



LXIII. A. WHAT is he this, that cometh from Edom, with stayned reade clothes of Bosra: (which is so costly cloth) & cometh in so neëbly with a'l his strēgth? I am he y<sup>t</sup> teacheth rightuousnes, & am of power to helpe. Wherefore thē is thy clothinge reade, and thy raymēt like his y<sup>t</sup> treadeth in y<sup>e</sup> wyne presse? I haue troddē the presse my self alone, & of all people, there was not one with me. Thus haue I trodē downe myne enemies in my wrath, and set my fete vpō them in my indignacion: And their bloude sprange vpō my cloothes, & so haue I stayned all my rayment. For the daye of vengeaūce that I haue takē in bonde, & the yeare of my delyuerance is come. I loked aboute me, and there was no mā to shewe me eny helpe. I fel downe, and no man helde me vp. Thē I helde me by myne owne arme, & my feruētnesse susteyned me. And thus haue I troden down the people in my wrath, and bathed them in my displeasure: In so moch that I haue shed their bloude vpon the earth.

The above examples are of Coverdale's translating, in which he was independent of Tyndale. By common consent, it is understood that the portions of the Scriptures already translated by Tyndale were used by Coverdale as the basis of his translation, especially the Pentateuch and the New Testament. The following specimens from Coverdale's translation of the New Testament will illustrate but imperfectly his work as a reviser, since in many instances his changes are rather for the worse than otherwise. The first example is that of the Lord's prayer, which is based upon Tyndale's version of 1534; it shows only a few verbal changes. Compare with Tyndale's version on pages 121, 122, above:

Matt. VI. B. . . . O oure father which art in heauen halowed be thy name. Thy kyngdome come. Thy wyll be fulfilled vpon earth as it is in heauen. Geue vs this daye oure dayly bred. And forgeue vs oure dettes, as we also forgeue our detters. And lede vs not in to tēptacion: but delyuer vs from euell. For thyne is the kyngdome, and the power, and the glorye for euer. Amen.

The following specimen is here inserted with the spelling modernized:

Rom. VIII. A. . . . . To be fleshly minded, is death : but to be ghostly minded, is life and peace. For to be fleshly minded is enmity against God, since it is not subdued unto the law of God, for it cannot also. As for them that are fleshly, they cannot please God. Howbeit, ye are not fleshly, but ghostly, if so be that the spirit of God dwell in you. But who so hath not the spirit of Christ the same is not his. Nevertheless if Christ be in you, then is the body dead because of sin. But the spirit is life for righteousness sake.

B. Wherefore if the spirit of him, that raised up Jesus from the dead, dwell in you, then shall even he also that raised up Christ from the dead, quicken your mortal bodies, because that his spirit dwelleth in you. Therefore brethren we are now debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh : for if ye live after the flesh, ye must die : but if ye mortify the deeds of the body through the spirit, ye shall live. For whosoever are led by the spirit of God, are God's children : for ye have not received the spirit of bondage to fear any more, but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry : Abba, dear father. The same spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God. If we be children, then are we heirs also, namely the heirs of God, and heirs annexed with Christ, if so be that we suffer together, that we may be also glorified together.

C. . . . . For the fervent longing of the creature looketh for the appearing of the children of God, because the creature is subdued unto vanity against their will, but for his will that hath subdued them upon hope. For the creature also shall be free from the bondage of corruption, unto the glorious liberty of the children of God. For we know that every creature groaneth, and travaileth with us in pain unto the same time. . . . .

D. Likewise the spirit also helpeth our weakness ; for we know not what we should desire as we ought :

nevertheless the spirit itself maketh intercession mightily for us with unoutspeakable groanings. Howbeit he that searcheth the heart, knoweth what the mind of the spirit is : for he maketh intercession for the saints according to the pleasure of God. But sure we are, that all things serve for the best unto them that love of God, which are called of purpose. For those whom he knew before, hath he ordained also before, that they should be like fashioned unto the shape of his son, that he might be the first begotten among many brethren. As for those whom he hath ordained before, them hath he called also : and whom he hath called, them hath he also made righteous : and whom he hath made righteous, them hath he glorified also.

If in revising Tyndale, Coverdale made changes sometimes for the worse, yet more frequently they were for the better. As evidence take the following comparisons. The readings of Tyndale are from his revised edition. The verse divisions are given below for the sake of reference, though they are not found in Coverdale's Bible.

- Matt. III. 14. . . . . I haue nede to be beptysed of the.  
Tyndale has : I ought to be.
- V. 36. . . . . canst not make *one heer whyte or blacke*.  
Tyndale reads : *one white heer, or blacke*.
- XIII. 58. . . . . *because of their vnbeleue*. Tyndale  
reads : *for there vnbelefes sake*.
- XXI. 42. . . . . is become the *heade stone* in the  
corner. Tyndale reads : is *set in the principall*  
*parte of the corner*.
- John I. 14. . . . . and we sawe *his glory*, a glory as of the  
onely begotten sonne of the father full of grace  
and *trueth*. Tyndale reads : . . . . and we  
sawe *the glory of it*, as the glory of the only be-  
gotten sonne of the father, *which worde was* full  
of grace and *verite*.
- III. 15. . . . . that *who so euer* beleueth in him,  
*shulde not* perishe, but haue *euerlastinge* life.

- Tyndale reads: . . . that *none that beleveth in him perisshe*: but have *eternall lyfe*.
31. . . . He that is of the earth is *earthly*.  
Tyndale reads: . . . He that is of the erth, is of *the erth*.
- XIV. 27. . . . Let not youre *hert be troubled*, nether let it be *afrayed*. Tyndale reads: . . . Let not your *hertes be greved* nether *feare ye*.
- XV. 19. . . . therfore *the worlde hateth you*. Tyndale has: therfore *hateth you the worlde*.
- XVIII. 38. Pilate sayde vnto him: what *is the trueth*? Tyndale reads: . . . what *thinge is trueth*?
- XIX. 2. . . . and *put* a purple garment *upon* him. Tyndale has: . . . *they dyd on* him a purple garment.<sup>1</sup>
- I. Tim. VI. 5. . . . which thynke that *godlines is lucre*. Tyndale reads: . . . that *lucre is godlines*. He is followed by the Genevan version, 1557; also by the Authorized version. But Coverdale's rendering is better, since the meaning is, that many supposed that godliness could be used as a means of gain.<sup>2</sup>
- I. John III. 24. And hereby knowe we that *he abydeth in vs, even by the sprete which he hath geuen vs*. Better than Tyndale, who reads: . . . and therby we know that ther abydeth in vs of the sprete which he *gave* vs.

Coverdale's language is sometimes quaint, but comparatively, there are but few obsolete words. While he studied great plainness of speech, he sometimes descended into too great familiarity of expression, of which the following are examples:

- Ps. IX. 16. . . . *trapped* in the workes of his owne handes.  
20. O LORDE, *set a scolemaster over them*.

<sup>1</sup> In the use of *dyd on*, Tyndale was followed by the Great Bible, 1539, also by the Genevan version of 1557. Wycliffe reads: *diden aboute hym*. In these instances the phrase is used in the sense of *put on*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Alford *in loco*; also Trench *on Bible Revision*, p. 110.

- X. 6. *Tush*, I shal neuer be cast downe. In the 11th and 12th verses, also we read : *Tush*, God hath forgotten. *Tush*, he careth not for it.
- XIII. 1. The *foolish bodyes* saye in their hertes : *Tush*, there is no God.<sup>1</sup>
- XXII. 4. Thy staffe and thy *shepehoke* comforte me.
- XXVI. 14. O tary thou y<sup>e</sup> LORDE's *leysure*.
- XXVII. 3. O *plucke me not awaye* amonge the vngodly.
7. . . . Therefore my hert *daunseth for joye*.
- XXXII. 3. . . . yee *syng lustely unto him*.
- XLIV. 4. *Good lucke haue thou with thine honoure*.
- XLV. 6. The Heithen are *madd*, the kyngdomes *make moch adoo*.
- XLVI. 5. God is gone *vp with a mery noyse*.

In respect to obsolete words, whole chapters may be read in Coverdale's Bible without meeting with a single example, though three and a half centuries have passed since the translation was made. There are such words, however, and as examples the following will suffice : *barowes*, couches ; *bugges*, goblins ; *chaftes*, jaws ; *creshettes*, torches ; *flawe of wynd*, tempest of wind ; *hantch*, snatch or devour ; *hand reachinge*, a favorite term with Coverdale for the act of *ministering relief* ; *lyuelod*, land ; *maundes*, baskets ; *rowneth*, whispereth ; all of which may be found below in their several connections.

- Job XXIX. 17. I brake the *chaftes* of y<sup>e</sup> vnrightuous.
- Ps. VII. 2. Lest he *hantch* vp my soule like a lyon.
- XC. 5. So y<sup>t</sup> thou shalt not nede to be afrayed for eny *bugges* by night.
- Is. V. 9. The LORDE of hoostes *rowneth* me thus.
- Jer. XXIV. 1. . . . there stode two *maundes* of figes.
- John XVIII. 3. . . . he came thither with *creshettes*, with lanterns and with weapens.
- Acts V. 3. . . . and withdrawe awaye parte of the money of the *lyuelod* ?
15. . . . and layed them vpon beddes and *barowes*.
- VI. 1. . . . because their wyddowes were not loked vpon in the daylie *handreachinge*.
- XXVII. 14. But not longe after there rose agaynst their purpose a *flawe of wynde*.

<sup>1</sup> This XIII. corresponds with the XIV. Psalm of the A. V. So the XXII. with the XXIII., and so on with the remaining references.

Archaic forms and contractions abound in Coverdale's Bible. These, together with the strange orthography, render his printed page somewhat obscure. The following are inserted as examples: *hir*, their; *her*, them; *his*, its; *nee*, nor; *y*, the; *y*, that; *hi*, him; *hōgrie*, hungry; *Jhō*, John; *lōdes*, lands; *lōge*, long; *stōble*, stumble; *thē*, them or then; *vpō*, upon; *aze*, ask; *rote*, root; *sprete*, spirit; *the*, thee; *thorow*, through; *twolce*, twelve; *wawes*, waves; *yee*, yea.

The circulation of Coverdale's Bible helped to awaken opposition to the Scriptures in English. The friends of the Bible are now in the ascendancy through the Protestant advisers of Henry VIII. Its enemies continue to rail from "inward malyce." They charge upon Coverdale as upon Tyndale the crime of corrupting and perverting the common Latin version. They revile all persons who possess or read the Bible in English as "heretikes," "new fangled fellowes," "English biblers," "Coblers in diuinitie," and as "fellowes of the new fayth."<sup>1</sup> They "cry out vpon vs," says Coverdale, "(because) we do not followe thys olde Latyn texte word for word. As though al were not as nye the truth to translate the scripture out of other languages, as to turne it out of the Latyn. Or as though the holy goost were not the authoure of his scripture aswell in the Hebrue, Greke, French, Dutche, and in Englysh, as in Latyn."<sup>2</sup>

It was in part to silence these cavils and "put an end to this clamorous importunyte of euell speakers;" and in part "to satisfye the just request of certayne your graces faythful subiectes," who were friendly to a Vernacular version; and in part also "to induce and instructe such as can but Englishe and are not learned in the Latin;"<sup>3</sup> that Coverdale favored an English translation of the New Testament directly from the Latin, and that it should be printed in a parallel column on the same page with the Latin. This Diglott, or Latin and English Testament, was published in 1538, at Southwarke,

<sup>1</sup> Coverdale's *Memoria's*, p. 93.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

by James Nycolson. Coverdale favored this work so far as to consent that under certain conditions his own translation should be used for this purpose, and that he would "set his name to it." But when it appeared he found it "so disagreeable to his former translacion in English,....(and) in many places both base, insensyble, and cleane contrary, not onely to the phrase of our language, but also from the vnderstandyng of the texte in latyn,"<sup>1</sup> he was sore displeased, and immediately set forth a corrected edition, which was printed in Paris by Francis Regnault, in November of the same year. In the meanwhile Nycolson put forth another edition, partially revised and corrected, under the name of John Hollybushe, as the translator. These three editions of this Latin and English New Testament were published in the year 1538.

That Coverdale had good reasons for being displeased with the first edition of the Diglott will appear even from these few examples :

- Matt. XXVI. B. . . . . beganne euery one of them to saye: LORDE, *ame I it?* Coverdale reads: Syr, is it I?
- C. . . . . And *the grace sayde*, they went forthe in mounte Oliuete. Coverdale reads: And *whan they had sayde grace*.
- Jesus sayde vnto hym: Verily I say vnto the: That in this night before the cock *syng*, thou shalt denye me thryse. Coverdale reads: before the cock *crouce*.
- Mark I. A. . . . . And John was clothed in *the heeres of a Camel*. Coverdale has: *Cumels heer*.
- VIII. D. . . . . Whome do men saye *me to be?* Coverdale reads: . . . . *that I am?*
- John II. A. . . . . But thou hast kepte the good wyne *hetherto*. Coverdale has: *untyll now*.

After publishing his Bible in 1535, Coverdale returned to England. In 1537 he published an exposition of the twenty-second, also of the twenty-third Psalm, translated from the German of Luther. He was employed about this time by Cromwell in the affairs of State; but his great learning and

<sup>1</sup> Coverdale's *Memorials*, pp. 99, 100.

moral worth, as well as his signal success as a translator and reviser of the English Bible, united in pointing him out as the person of all others to take the leadership in an enterprise already determined upon, which was the putting forth the Bible in another translation. This contemplated enterprise resulted in due time in the Great Bible of 1539. In the meanwhile, however, another Bible, that of Thomas Matthewe, 1537, appeared in England. It came across the sea unheralded, but was kindly received. Some account of this Bible next commands our attention.



## CHAPTER V.

MATTHEWE'S BIBLE. A. D. 1537.

ABOUT this time there were three distinct versions of the English Bible issued in the short space of four years. These were Coverdale's Bible, 1535, Matthewe's Bible, 1537, and Cromwell's Bible, 1539. In the accounts given of these several editions, more or less confusion has existed. Burnet complains that the facts respecting the translation of the Bible have not been preserved with "that care that the Importance of the thing required."<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, Burnet transmits an error in tracing a direct connection between the action of the convocation of 1536, and Cromwell's Bible of 1539. The arguments put forth in this convocation favoring the Bible in English, he says, "were so much considered by the King, that he gave order for setting about it immediately."<sup>2</sup> He further adds in this connection, "that the work was carried on at a good rate; for three years after this it was Printed at *Paris*."<sup>3</sup> There was a petition ordered to be presented to the king, requesting that the Bible might be given to the laity in their own tongue, during the sittings of this convocation of 1536, but with no known results. The Bible printed three years after was Cromwell's Bible, which was a revision of the Bible of 1537, and though the printing was begun at *Paris* it was completed in *London*. Again, Burnet in giving an account of the Bible of 1537, says: "the Translation had been sent over to *France* to be printed at *Paris*, . . . . but upon a complaint made by the *French* Clergy, the Press was stopt and

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Reformation in England*, I., B. III., p. 196. *London*, 1631.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 196.

most of the Copies were seized on, and publickly burnt; but some Copies were conveyed out of the way, and the Workmen and Forms were brought over to *England*; where it was now finished and published.”<sup>1</sup> All of which is true of the Bible of 1539, but not that of 1537. Another example of this confusion is found in Strype, who gives Archbishop Cranmer the credit of originating the translation of 1537, and hence connects it with the efforts of Cranmer towards a new translation made soon after the convocation of 1534, in which the archbishop assigned certain portions of Scripture to divers learned bishops and others to be revised and corrected. And now, adds Strype, “to his inexpressible Satisfaction, he saw the Work finished.”<sup>2</sup> But as a matter of fact this effort of the archbishop was unsuccessful.<sup>3</sup> In another connection, Strype gives comparatively a correct account of the Bible of 1537; that it was “called *Matthews Bible of Tyndal’s and Roger’s Translation*, (and,) was printed by *Grafton and Whitchurch at Hamburg*.... It was done by one *John Rogers*, who flourished a great while in *Germany*, and was Superintendent of a Church there.... He added Prefaces, and Notes out of *Luther*; and dedicated the whole Book to King *Henry*, under the Name of *Thomas Matthews*, by an Epistle prefixed; minding to conceal his own Name.”<sup>4</sup>

Still another example of this confusion is found in Froude, when in describing Coverdale’s Bible, 1535, he confounds it with Matthewe’s Bible, 1537. He says: “Miles Coverdale .... silently went abroad with a licence from Cromwell; with Tyndal’s help he collected and edited the scattered portions; and in 1536, there appeared in London, published *cum privilegio*, and dedicated to Henry VIII. the first complete copy of the English Bible. .... The canon and text-book of the new opinions—so long dreaded, so long execrated—was thenceforth to lie open in every church in England; and

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Reformation in England*, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, B. I., ch. XV., p. 57. London, 1694.

<sup>3</sup> See above on pages 152, 153.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 82.

the clergy were ordered not to permit only, but to exhort and encourage, all men to resort to it and read.”<sup>1</sup> Possibly Rogers may have had Tyndale’s help or they may have labored together in translating the Bible of 1537; but not so Coverdale and Tyndale. The above statement, however, is for the most part true of the Bible of 1535. So again Mr. Froude confounds the Great Bible of 1539, with the Bible of 1535, when he describes the frontispiece of the former as belonging to the latter; introducing as he does the description, with the statement, that this frontispiece was “equally remarkable, and even more emphatic in the recognition of the share in the work borne by the king.”<sup>2</sup> But so far as is known Henry VIII. had no “share in the work” of producing Coverdale’s Bible, not even so much as granting his royal privilege to the first edition.

Though these three editions appeared so near each other as to time, yet in their origin they were so distinct, that there can be no excuse for historically confounding them. There is, however, in the history of the Bible of 1537, an obscurity attaching itself to the name Thomas Mathewe, which the utmost discrimination and research has failed to make clear. In seeking to account for this *straunge* name of Thomas Mathewe being connected with the Bible, Foxe declares that: “In the translation of this Bible, the greatest doer was in dede William Tyndall. . . . But because the sayd William Tyndall in y<sup>e</sup> meane tyme was apprehended, . . . it was thought good to them whiche had the doyng therof, to chaunge the name of William Tyndall, because that name then was odious, and to father it by a *straunge* name of Thomas Mathewe.”<sup>3</sup> Strype adopted the same theory, adding, that Tyndale’s name “then growing into ignominy, as one burnt for an Heretick, they thought it might prejudice the Book, if he should be named for the Translator thereof: and so they used a feigned Name, calling it *Thomas*

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, III., 83. New York, 1869.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1363. 1696-7.

*Matthews Bible.*"<sup>1</sup> But whether Thomas Matthewe was a *straunge*, or *feigned* name; or whether it was an *alias* of John Rogers, which seems the most likely as there are some incidental proofs;<sup>2</sup> or whether it was the name of some individual who by his means first aided the enterprise, as has been surmised; or whether it was the name of the first printer, which seems the most unlikely supposition of all, though Hallam states it not as a supposition but as a fact; or whether it be a *fictitious* name "under which the Editor chose to appear," as Lewis thinks; whatever the relation of this name, it would seem as an act of justice, that the name of John Rogers ought to be more intimately linked with this Bible of 1537, on account of the prominent place he holds as its reviser and editor.

John Rogers was educated at Cambridge, where, according to Foxe, "he profitably traueiled in good learnyng." At length he was called by the merchant adventurers at Antwerp to become their chaplain, whom he served to their "good contentation" for many years. "Knowing by the Scriptures that unlawfull vowes may lawfully be broken," Rogers was married. He afterwards went to Wittemburg, where he increased not only in "Good and Godly learnyng; but . . . in the knowledge of the Dutch tounge." A congregation here was committed to his care, which he served till the time of Edward VI., when he returned to England. "A prebend in the Cathedrall church of Paules" was granted him, and the dean appointed him reader of the divinity lessons, wherein he diligently served till the time of Queen Mary, when for the crime of preaching the Gospel and upholding the doctrines

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, B. I., ch. XVI., p. 59. London, 1694.

<sup>2</sup> In the condemnation of Rogers, as recorded by Foxe, he is referred to several times, as "*John Rogers, Priest, alias called Mathew.*" *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1661. It was not uncommon in those bitter days of trial for good men to take upon themselves other names. Tyndale's *alias* was *Hutchins* or *Hytchens*.

"taught in King Edwardes daies," he was summoned before the council, by whose judgment he was commanded "as prisoner to keepe his own house;" but afterwards by the uncharitable procurement of Bishop Boner he was removed to New Gate.<sup>1</sup> Foxe, likewise, records the particulars of his trial before the Lord Chancellor, also his sentence of condemnation, together with an account of his martyrdom, which took place at Smithfield, February 4, 1555.<sup>2</sup>

At Antwerp Rogers became intimately acquainted with Tyndale. So intimate were they, according to Foxe, "that he was engaged with Tyndall in the prayerful and most profitable labour of translatyng the Bible in to the English tounge, which is intituled the translation of Thomas Matthew." Doubtless, in John Rogers, Tyndale found a friend in whom he could trust, and to whom in his extremity he could commit his private papers. The same morning in which Tyndale was led to the stake, "he deliuered a letter to the keeper of the Castle, which the keeper hym self brought to the house of the foresaid Pointz in Antwerpe, shortly after." This letter or package may have contained other private papers of Tyndale, or information respecting them; or such papers may have remained, as Foxe understood, "in the handes of the keper's daughter."<sup>3</sup> In either case take into connection the circumstance of Tyndale's letter to the procurator, in which he requested the privilege of a candle and Hebrew books,<sup>4</sup> and the not unfair inference follows that Tyndale not only carried on his work of translation while in prison, but that the results of such labor were preserved. And as John Rogers was the editor of the Bible of 1537, it is not unreasonable to conclude, that either through the family of Poyntz, or that of the keeper of the prison, these manuscripts together with any others he may have prepared before his arrest, found their way into the hands of Rogers, who incorporated them in the Matthewe's Bible. Besides, internal evidences favor the

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1657.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1663-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1230.

<sup>4</sup> See above on page 136.

conclusion, that this Bible was made up of Tyndale's translation, not only of the New Testament and Pentateuch already in print, but also of the historical books, from Joshua to the end of II. Chronicles. Wanley's opinion, as quoted by Lewis, was that Rogers adopted Tyndale's translation, which extended to the end of II. Chronicles.<sup>1</sup> Eadie favors the same opinion and cites a few characteristic renderings in Tyndale's Pentateuch, which are found also in the historical books above mentioned. As examples we find both in the Pentateuch and the historical books such words as; *timbrel*, which Coverdale had rendered *tabret*; also *Lebanon*, which Coverdale rendered *Libanus*; and *ephod*, which in Coverdale is, *overbody cote*. Again we find such phrases as, *Ark of the Testament*, and *Ark of the Appointment of the Lord*; which in Coverdale read, *Ark of the Covenant of the Lord*.<sup>2</sup>

The design of Rogers in editing the Bible of 1537, was to include all that Tyndale had translated, comprising whatever may have been in manuscript as well as what had already been printed. So that the Bible as revised by Rogers is made up of the New Testament of Tyndale's translation, the edition of 1534, G. H., which was the last revision, and doubtless, in Rogers' opinion, the most accurate edition; together with the Old Testament, of Tyndale's translation, extending from Genesis to the end of II. Chronicles. The remaining portions of the Old Testament he adopted from Coverdale's Bible. It is estimated, therefore, that this Bible of 1537, comprised two-thirds of Tyndale's and one-third of Coverdale's translation. All of which passed under the revising hand of John Rogers. Besides, in revising and editing this Bible, Rogers was but carrying out the purpose of Tyndale, whose great desire was to put forth the whole Bible in English. Tyndale was a rapid worker, an indefatigable

<sup>1</sup> *History of Translations of English Bible*, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Hist. Eng. Bible*, I., 321. "No small presumption in favour of the tradition that Tyndale translated from Josh. to 2 Chron. is afforded by the fact that these books are translated, according to Tyndale's wont, from the Hebrew text." *Ibid*, p. 320.

student, as well as a thorough scholar; and the one work, to which he had dedicated his life, was the giving to his countrymen the Holy Scriptures in their own tongue. This too was the expectation of his friends, especially after the publication of the books of the Pentateuch. In answer to some inquiries of John Fryth, his special friend, who about this time was confined in the tower of London, for the word of God, respecting the translation of the whole Bible, concerning which, evidently Fryth had heard some rumors, Tyndale wrote: "George Joye at Candlemas being at Barrowe, printed ii leaues of Genesis in a great forme, and sent one Copy to the kyng, and another to the newe Queene, with a letter to N. for to deliuer them; and to purchase licence, that he myght so go throughe all the Bible. Out of that is sprong the noyse of the new Bible."<sup>1</sup> To this same expectation, Coverdale in his prologue gives expression, when he says: "Yet yf thou be feruent in thy prayer, God shal not onely sende it the in a better shappe by the mynistracyon of other that beganne it afore." Referring doubtless to Tyndale's purpose to translate the whole Bible, as he had already completed the Pentateuch and the New Testament, which Coverdale had, by revision, incorporated in his Bible of 1535. But times change and expectations come to naught. Already William Tyndale, from whom Coverdale and others are expecting so much, is being hurried off to prison, from which he shall soon be led forth to be first strangled and then burned at the stake.

It is a matter of conjecture when and where John Rogers set about the work of editing the Matthewe's Bible. It must have been immediately after the martyrdom of Tyndale, which occurred October 6, 1536, since the Bible appeared about the middle of the next year. This appears from the fact that

<sup>1</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1231. This letter is without date. It was written probably at the close of the year 1532, or the beginning of the year 1533, since John Fryth was brought before the bishops June 20, 1533, and suffered martyrdom July 4th of the same year.

Cranmer's letter to Cromwell, in which he thanks him for soliciting and obtaining the king's consent that the Bible should be bought and read within the realm of England, was dated August 13, 1537. In addition to this, Grafton's letter to Cromwell, in which he speaks of six copies of this Bible sent as a present by the hands of his servant, bears date of August 28, 1537.<sup>1</sup> As to the place where this Bible was printed, Strype, in his *Memorials of Cranmer*, fixes upon Hamburgh; Wanley, as quoted by Lewis, decides in favor of Paris; Lewis himself favors Marburgh; while Eadie, with more probability as to correctness, suggests Antwerp. This last city having been for a long season the residence of Rogers, we naturally fix upon as the place where he would publish the work. But the enterprise from first to last was kept a profound secret. There is no intimation whatever of the progress of this volume until completed and introduced into England by the hand of Grafton; neither is there any intimation as to how Grafton became interested in the undertaking. The Bible itself, however, shows that the printing had gone on as far as the beginning of Isaiah, where a new title-page was introduced, indicating that Grafton and Whitechurch took up the work of printing at this point. This new title-page reads: "The Prophetes in Englishe;" which is surrounded by woodcuts. On the reverse page is printed in large and flourished capitals, R. G. and E. W., the initials of Richard Grafton and Edward Whitechurch. The former of these initials is placed at the top, and the latter at the bottom of the page, while in the center is a large woodcut.

From Grafton's letter to Cromwell it appears that he undertook the publication as a business transaction. He claims that already the charges amounted to above five hundred pounds; a very large sum in those days, and in modern values would equal about thirty-seven thousand dollars. In this same letter he pleads with Cromwell that the edition may go forth

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, B. I., Ch. XV., pp. 58, 59. London, 1694.



under the privy-seal, as a defense against pirated editions. He says he had already printed "fifteen hundred books complete," in large letter, and their sale was threatened by Dutch printers, who "wil and doth go about the printing of the same work again in a lesser letter; to the intente that they may sel their little books better cheap than I can sel these great." Besides, he adds, that these printers would not only set forth a smaller volume, but one imperfect as to paper, ink, and correction. That the printing and correcting would be done by *Dutch men*, who could neither speak or write good English, and that they would not "bestow twenty or forty pounds to a Learned man to take pains in it, to have it wel done."<sup>1</sup> On these grounds he seeks the authority of the privy-seal, with the exclusive right to print and sell these Bibles for the space of three years.<sup>2</sup> Further, he requested that Cromwell would issue a royal injunction to the effect that every curate should be compelled to have one of these Bibles, and "that every Abby should have six to be layd in six several places;" that not only the whole convent, but those who resorted thither, might have the opportunity of reading the same.<sup>3</sup> Previous to this, however, it seems that through the influence of Cromwell and the interposition of Cranmer, Grafton had obtained the king's license, which was inserted upon the title-page in red letters, thus: "*Set forth by the Kings most gracious License.*" But as many refused to believe that the king had licensed it, he sought as above to have it go forth under the privy-seal.<sup>4</sup>

The relation of Archbishop Cranmer to this Bible of 1537 is variously estimated. Mr. Anderson protests against Cranmer having the slightest connection with the enterprise, and so instead of "exerting himself for this book as Mr. Todd im-

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, Appendix. pp. 39, 40.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis, in referring to this request, says that he does not find that it was ever granted. He had seen a copy of the Bible in a small thick folio, with the text and notes the same, and the initial letters of Grafton and Whitechurch omitted. Compare *Hist. Eng. Translations*, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, App., p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

agined," the Bible, when first brought to him, was a "*delightful surprise*."<sup>1</sup> Lewis, on the contrary, regarded Cranmer not only as a *favourer* of this edition of the Bible, but as one of its chief *Curators*; <sup>2</sup> while Eadie admits the possibility of a *prior knowledge* on the part of the archbishop, and a consequent *prior understanding* between him and Grafton.<sup>3</sup> There can be no doubt of Cranmer's personal interest and efforts in the past in procuring an acceptable translation of the Scriptures. This, Grafton as a shrewd business man understood, and as his enterprise was dependent upon court authority, he would naturally seek first of all the archbishop's sympathy and influence. But whatever Cranmer's previous knowledge of the enterprise may have been, there can be no doubt of his intense satisfaction when a copy of this Bible was put into his hands; neither of his personal influence to have it go forth under royal privilege, and "to be bought and read within the realm." He wrote to Cromwell, under date of August 5, 1537: "You shall receive by the bringer thereof a bible in English, both of a new translation, and a new print, dedicated unto the king's majesty, as farther appeareth by a pistle unto his grace in the beginning of the book, which in mine opinion is very well done, and therefore I pray your lordship to read the same. And as for the translation, so far as I have read thereof, I like it better than any other translation heretofore made; yet not doubting but that there may and will be found some fault therein, as you know no man ever did or can do so well, but it may be from time to time amended. And forasmuch as the book is dedicated unto the king's grace and also great pains and labour taken in setting forth of the same; I pray you my lord, that you will exhibit the book unto the king's highness, and to obtain of his grace, if you can, a licence that the same may be sold and read of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary,

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of English Bible*, p. 298. 1862.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of Eng. Translations of the Bible*, p. 111. 1739.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Eng. Bible*, I., 340. 1876.

until such time as we the bishops shall set forth a better translation, which I think will not be till a day after doomsday.”<sup>1</sup>

Cranmer's zeal for the circulation of this Bible appears from another letter to Cromwell written some nine days after the above, in which he sends his commendations and thanks, that “whereas I understand that your lordship, at my request, hath not only exhibited this bible which I sent unto you, to the king's majesty, but also hath obtained of his grace, that the same shall be allowed by his authority to be bought and read within this realm; my lord for this your pain, taken in this behalf, I give unto you my most hearty thanks: assuring your lordship, for the contentation of my mind, you have shewed me more pleasure herein, than if you had given me a thousand pound; and I doubt not but that hereby such fruit of good knowledge shall ensue, that it shall well appear hereafter, what high and acceptable service you have done unto God and the king.”<sup>2</sup> In still another letter written fifteen days later, though it is taken up with other matters, Cranmer takes occasion to renew his thanks to Cromwell, “in the name of them all which favoureth God's word, for your diligence at this time in procuring the king's highness to set forth the said God's word and his gospel by his grace's authority. For the which act, not only the king's majesty, but also you shall have a perpetual laud and memory of all them that be now, or hereafter shall be, God's faithful people and the favourers of his word.”<sup>3</sup> These extracts show how intensely Cranmer's mind was occupied in the setting forth of this edition of the Bible.

It was therefore through the influence of Cranmer, the interposition of Cromwell, and the good will of Henry VIII., that the Bible of 1537 was the first to go forth with the royal privilege. Just now the times are favorable to the Reformation; and Cromwell obtains a license for a second edition of Coverdale's Bible, a thing he could not, or at least, did not do,

<sup>1</sup> *Cranmer's Remains and Letters*, p. 344. Parker Soc. Ed., 1846.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 346.

two years before. But what is done must be done quickly, for that which is now approved by those in authority will very soon be condemned. The relation of Henry VIII. to the English Bible will probably never be fully understood. At first, as an enthusiastic friend of the New learning he identified himself with the progressive party; but afterwards, engrossed by the affairs of State, in which the friends of the Old and New learning, as contending factions, seemed to threaten the public good, he too often gave a willing ear to the wily suggestions of the papists. But now, in sympathy with one party and now with the other, he vacillates, till, with an imperious will and blind rage, he strikes off the heads of representative men of both parties.

But the history of the English Bible as a whole, shows that progress in translations depended but little on the active favor of kings. The work went forward though their eyes were closed, and even under their forbidding frown. For a season, however, Tyndale's prayer at the stake seems to have been answered. Henry VIII. authorizes the Bible to be freely sold and read within his realm. Whereupon also a declaration was issued by Cromwell, "to permit and command the Bible, being translated in our Mother tongue, to be sincerely taught by us the Curates, and to be openly laid forth in every parish church: to the intent, that all his good subjects, as wel by reading therof, as by hearing the true explanation of the same, may be able to learn their duties to Almighty God and his Majesty, and every of us to charitably use other: . . . his Majesty hath willed and commanded this to be declared unto you, . . . that in the reading and hearing therof, first most humbly and reverently using and addressing your selves unto it, you shal have always in your remembrance and memories, that al things contained in this book is the undoubted Wil, Law, and Commandment of Almighty God, the only and streit means to know the goodnes and benefits of God towards us, and the true duty of every christen man to serve him accordingly. . . . And so by your good and vertuous example to encourage your wives, children and servants to live wel and

christianly accordingly to the rules therof. And if at any time by reading any doubt shal comen to any of you touching the sense or meaning of any part therof . . . ye shal have recourse to such learned men, as be, or shalbe authorized to preach and declare the same. So that avoyding all contentions and disputations in such ale houses and other places, unmeet for such conferences, and submitting your opinion to the judgments of such learned men, . . . his Grace may wel perceive, that you use this most high benefit quietly and charitably; . . . without failing to use such discrete quietnes, and sober moderation in the premisses; as is aforesaid; as you tender his Graces pleasure, and intend to avoyd his high indignation, and the peril and danger that may ensue to you and every of you for the contrary.”<sup>1</sup>

Besides the above declaration which was sent forth in 1538, to be read by all curates, there were certain injunctions issued by Cromwell in September of the same year, bearing upon the circulation of the Bible. The first item of which reads: “That ye shall provide on this side of the feast of N. next comming, one booke of the whole Byble of the largest volume in Englishe, and the same set up in some conuenient place within the said churche that ye have cure of, whereas your parishoners may most commodiously resorte to the same and read it.” Item second reads: “That ye shall discourage no man priuely nor apartly, from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly prouoke, stirre, and exhort euey person to read the same, as that whiche is the very liuely word of God, that every christen person is bounden to embrace, beleue, and folow, if he loke to be saued, admonishing them neuertheless to auoid all contention and altercation therein, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquisition of the true sense of the same, and to referre the explication of the obscure places, to men of higher judgement in scripture.”<sup>2</sup>

There is some doubt as to what Bible these injunctions

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Memoria's of Archbishop Cranmer*. App., p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1249.

refer ; whether to that of 1537, as the date seems to indicate, or to that of 1539, as the name seems to imply. If these injunctions were sent forth in 1538, which is not called in question, then the Bible of 1537, it would seem, is the only one to which they could refer. And since it was a much larger folio than that of Coverdale's Bible, it was not inappropriate to designate it as the *Bible of the largest volume*. Those who are influenced by the name, however, argue that these injunctions refer to the Bible of 1539, and though the injunctions were issued in 1538, yet "the interruption of the printing could not have been definitely foreseen."<sup>1</sup> But Coverdale and Grafton were in continual fear of interruption, and in fact the work was stopped at the close of the year 1538.<sup>2</sup> As the date, therefore, favors the Bible of 1537, and the name is not inapplicable ; and, further, since the spirit of the injunctions is so in harmony with the request of Grafton, the mind of Cromwell and the good will of Henry VIII., it seems reasonable that these injunctions should refer to the Bible of 1537.

But however favorable the auspices under which this Bible was issued, and however heartily it was welcomed by the friends of the Reformation, which Strype in describing says : "It was wonderful to see with what joy this Book of God was received, not only among the Learned sort, and those that were noted for Lovers of the Reformation, but generally all *England* over among all the Vulgar and common People ; and with what greediness God's Word was read, and what resort to Places where the reading of it was. Every body that could, bought the Book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves ; and divers more elderly People learned to read on purpose ;"<sup>3</sup> and yet, for all this, the enemy was not asleep, and his opposition was as great as he dared to offer. The vicars and curates were compelled to read from their pulpits the above declaration and injunctions, but

<sup>1</sup> Westcott's *History of the Eng. Bible*, p. 77, note. London, 1872.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis' *Hist. of Eng. Translations*, p. 121. London, 1789.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 64. London, 1694.

they read them in such a manner, "humming and hauking thereat," that little was understood of what was read. And to counteract the influence of what was understood, "they secretly suborned certain spreaders of Rumors and false Tales in Corners, who interpreted the Injunctions to a false sense. . . . And they bad their Parishioners, notwithstanding what they read, being compelled so to do, that they should do as they did in Times past, to live as their Fathers; and that the old Fashion is the best; and other crafty and seditious Parables they gave out among them."<sup>1</sup> So, likewise, the Bibles were placed in the churches as was commanded, and because commanded, but not in places convenient of approach; the priests and their adherents putting them where "the poor did not presume to come." Besides, the circulation of Tyndale's New Testaments and Coverdale's and Matthewe's Bibles gave rise to disputes and wranglings in places of public resort. Indeed, since the first publication of Erasmus' Greek and Latin Testament, the ale house and the tavern had been the theatres for the abuse and derision of the Holy Scriptures by the Romish priests. So that this opposition was not new, either in its spirit or manner of manifestation.

As further illustrating the spirit of the times, and that the opposition was not confined to the priests, it is related of William Maldon that when a child he was accustomed every Sunday to assemble with others at the church to listen to the reading of the New Testament. His father observing this, "once angrily fetched him away, and would have him say the Latin Mattins with him." And as often as he returned to the church to hear the reading of the Bible, his father would force him away. The boy then resolved upon learning to read, that he might read for himself, the New Testament; "which when he had by diligence effected, he and his Father's Apprentice bought the New Testament, joining their Stocks together; and to conceal it, laid it under the Bed-straw, and read it at convenient Times." One night, in conversation

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 70.

with his mother, he assured her that kneeling to the crucifix, holding up the hands to it and knocking on the breast when it passed by in a procession, that all such adoration was idolatry "and against the Commandment of God, where he saith: *Thou shalt not make any graven Image, nor bow down to it, nor worship it.*" Whereupon the mother was greatly enraged, and said: "Wilt thou not worship the Cross, which was about thee when thou wert Christned, and must be laid on thee when thou art dead?" She went out in anger and related the whole matter to her husband, who "boiling in Fury" went to his son's chamber and "like a mad Zealot, taking him by the Hair of his Head, with both his Hands, pulled him out of the Bed, and whipped him unmercifully. And when the Young Man bore his beating, as he related, with a kind of Joy, considering it was for Christ's Sake, and shed not a tear; his Father, seeing that, was more enraged, and ran down and fetched an Halter, and put it about his Neck, saying he would hang him." But from this violence of the father he was saved by the entreaties of the mother and brother.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the spirit of intolerance on the part of the papists, the times are favorable to the Reformation, and consequently to the free use of the English Bible. And it is not strange, when this new liberty came in contact with the old bondage, that there should have been conflict. Hence there was complaint, that the reading of the Bible in the churches, as permitted by the injunctions, was in contempt of the divine services of the church and an hindrance thereto. In reply to such complaints, Cranmer wrote to Lord Lisle in July, 1539: "As concerning such persons as in time of divine service do read the bible, they do much abuse the king's grace's intent and meaning in his grace's injunctions and proclamations; which permitteth the bible to be read, not to allure great multitudes of people together, nor thereby to interrupt the time of prayer: . . . but that the same be done

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Cranmer*, pp. 64, 65.



and read in time convenient, privately, for the condition and amendment of the lives both of the readers and such hearers as cannot themselves read, and not in contempt or hinderance of any divine service or laudable ceremony used in the church; nor that any such reading should be used, . . . expounding and interpreting scriptures, unless it be by such as shall have authority to preach and read; but that all other readers of the bible do no otherwise read thereupon, than the simple and plain text purporteth and lieth printed in the book." <sup>1</sup>

The favorable reception of Mattheve's Bible was based upon the fact that it was the word of God clothed in the language of the people. So likewise the virulent opposition of the Romish bishops and clergy was based upon the same fact. Besides, Cromwell in obtaining the king's license could not have perused the volume beyond the dedication, which was quite in the flattering spirit of the age, otherwise he must have discovered to the king, that in licensing this work he would favor that which in times past he had so bitterly opposed. To the bishops of the Romish party there was much in the prefatory matter to excite their hatred. The notes also were anti-papal, and must have greatly displeased them. These notes are described as being not only textual but doctrinal and practical; some of which were original while others were gathered from various sources. As critical notes they did not veil the opinions of Tyndale, but rather presented them in an intensified form; and not unfrequently going far beyond Cranmer's views respecting Catholic doctrines and usages.<sup>2</sup> There were prologues also which must have been equally distasteful to the Romish clergy. Among these was Tyndale's prologue to Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Sir Thomas More had denounced this, and before him, Dr. Ridley had "taken angry notice of it," as teaching "altogether most poisoned and abhorrible

<sup>1</sup> *Remains and Letters of Archbishop Cranmer*. Parker Society edition, p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> *Eadie's Hist. of Eng. Bible*, I., 331, 332, 333.

heresies.”<sup>1</sup> And yet this prologue is but a running commentary on the several chapters of the Epistle, taken up in their order, in which the meaning of the Apostle is set forth in all simplicity, and with much spiritual insight of Gospel truth. If anywhere the author makes a thrust, it is in the last chapter, where he exhorts to “beware of the traditions and doctrine of men which beguile the simple....and draw them from Christ and noose them in weak....and in beggarly ceremonies, for the intent that they would live in fat pastures, and be in authority and be taken as Christ, yea, and above Christ, and sit in the temple of God, that is to wit, in the consciences of men, where God only, his word and his Christ, ought to sit.”<sup>2</sup>

But the offense of all others, was that the Bible was made up largely from Tyndale's translation, and therefore could not but excite the hatred of the Romish bishops. Since the denunciations of Sir Thomas More against Tyndale, the minds of the bishops, by force of circumstances, have changed in respect to the right of the people to the Scriptures in their own tongue; but there has been no change in their hatred of Tyndale's translation. The evil spirit of the Romish party, though curbed for a season, will by and by show itself in its dire malignity. At the present, however, court authority is on the side of a free Bible. And a variety of editions of the Scripture will soon appear, as the epoch of the so-called Great Bibles is at hand.

The pre-eminence of Matthewe's Bible consists in the fact that while it was largely based upon Tyndale's translation, it became the basis of subsequent English versions, including at the last our present English Bible. The several links in the chain are traceable, since Matthewe's Bible (1537), through revision, became the Great Bible of 1539-1540; which in turn, by revision, became the Bishop's Bible of 1568; which again in turn, became King James' Bible of 1611. There are other

<sup>1</sup> Tyndale's *Works*, I., 483.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, *Prologue to the Epistle to the Romans*, p. 508.

very important links, but these indicate the line of authorized succession; although the authority does not always appear, since the revisers from the first manifested great liberality and good sense in the use of the various helps before them. John Rogers was not only a careful editor, but an intelligent reviser, as both his text and notes indicate. In the latter he often suggests readings which he might wisely have introduced into the text. The title reads: "THE BIBLE, which is all the Holy Scripture, in which are containned the Olde and Newe Testament, truelye and purelye translated into Englysh. By Thomas Mathewe. Esaye I. *Hearken to, ye Heavens, and thou earth geaue ear; for the Lorde speaketh.* M.D.XXXVII. Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous Lycence."

This edition contains an extra amount of prefatory matter. Next to the title-page follows: "A Dedication to the King"; then "A Preface to the Reader." After which are placed in order: "1. A calender; 2. An exhortation to the study of the Holy Scripture, with the initials J. R. at the end; 3. The Summe and Content of all the holy Scripture, both of the Old and Newe Testament; 4. A Table of the pryncypal matters conteyned in the Byble; 5. A description of the Kings of Juda, and what Prophets were in each reign; 6. The Names of all the Bokes of the Byble, and the contents of the chapters of every Boke, with the nombre of the Leaffe wherein the Bokes begynne; 7. A brief rehersall of the yeaes passed sence the begynnyng of the worlde unto this yeaer of our Lorde M.CCCCC.XXXVII."

At the close of the Old Testament are printed W: T., the initials of William Tyndale, "as if," says Lewis, "it was translated all by him." At the end of the New Testament is printed: "The ende of the Newe Testament and of the whole Byble. To the honoure and prayse of God was this Byble printed and fyneshed in the yere of our Lorde God a. M.D.XXXVII." Copies of this Bible are preserved in the British Museum, Bodleian, and other English libraries.

A new or rather a revised edition of Mathewe's Bible, by

Richard Taverner, was published in 1539. Bishop Bale regards it almost as a new translation; while Lewis pronounces it something between a revision and a translation, and adds that "it is a Correction of what is called Matthews's Bible wherever the Editor thought it needful."<sup>1</sup> The title reads: "The most sacred Bible, whiche is the Holy Scripture, conteyning the Olde and New Testament, translated into English, and newly recognised with great diligence after most faythful exemplars. By Richard Taverner. *Harken thou heven, and thou earth gyve eare, for the Lord speaketh.* Esaie I.—Prynted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of the sonne, by John Byddell for Thomas Barthlett, *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.* M.D.XXXIX."<sup>2</sup>

The prefatory matter is similar to that in Matthewe's Bible, and consists of: "1. A Dedication to the King, by Taverner; 2. An Exhortation to the studye of the holy scripture; . . . 3. The summe and content of all the holye scripture; . . . 4. The names of all the Bokes of the Bible, with the contents of the Chapters; 5. A briefe rehersall declarynge how long the worlde hath endured from the creation of Adam unto this present yere of oure Lorde M. D. XXXIX; 6. A Table to fynde manye of the chyefe and pryncypal matters conteyned in the Bible."<sup>3</sup>

The title of the New Testament reads: "The Newe Testament of our Sauyours Jesu Christ, translated into English; and newly recognised with great diligence after moost faythful exemplars. By Rycharde Taverner. *Pray for us that the worde of GOD may have fre passage and be glorified.* II Tessa. iii. Prynted in the yere of oure Lorde GOD M. D. XXXIX."<sup>4</sup>

In the make up of this volume Taverner left out the most of Rogers' notes; and in the revision of the text he made comparatively but few changes, and even these for the most part were verbal. The following have been noted as specimens: Gen. iii. 5, Ye shall be *as Gods*; Rogers has: *as God*. Gen.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Translations of English Bible*, p. 132. London, 1739.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 131.

xliii. 11, *a quantitie of baulme*; Rogers has: *a curtesye baulme*. Num. xxiv. 19, 22, *residue*, and *never the less*; where Rogers has: *remnant*, and *never the later*. II Kings, xxiii. 5, *religious persons*; Rogers has: *Kemurims*. In the New Testament, some of Taverner's phrases found their way into King James' version. The following are noted as examples: Matt. xiii. 58, *because of their unbelief*; xviii. 12, *ninety and nine*; xxi. 17, *lodged*; Gal. iv. 20, *I stand in doubt of you*. As an illustration of Taverner's literal and forcible rendering of the Greek, we have such examples as: Matt. xxii. 6, *intreated them foully*; 12, *had never a word to say*; 34, *stopped the Sadducees' mouths*.

Taverner undertook the work of revision, according to Lewis, at the instigation of Cromwell, or at least by his encouragement. But from Taverner's own words, in his dedication to the King, it would seem that he was induced to enter upon it by the printers, who desired to put forth a newly corrected edition of the Bible. His own words are: "Forasmuch as the prynters herof were very desirous to have the Bible come forth as faultlesse and emendatly as the shortnes of tyme for the recognysing of the same wold require, they desyred hym, for default of a better learned, diligently to overloke and peruse the hole copy, and in case he should fynd any notable default that neded correction, to amende the same according to the true exemplars, which thing according to his talent he had gladly done."<sup>1</sup> Taverner, since the days of Wolsey, had been a friend of the New Testament party. He was one of the Cambridge scholars whom Wolsey invited to a professorship in his new College at Oxford. "This ambitious Cardinall," says Foxe, "gathered together into that Colledge (Fryswide) whatsoever excellent thyng there was in the whole realme, either vestimentes, vessels or other ornaments. . . . Besides that, he also appointed unto that company all such men as were founde to excell in any kynde of learnyng and knowledge." After giving a list of the names of those who

<sup>1</sup> *History of Translations of English Bible*, p. 132.

were chief among the number from Cambridge, he added: "to these joyne also Tauerner of Boston the good Musician."<sup>1</sup> Taverner also was among those who were imprisoned for the New Testament's sake, in the fish cellar of that same College building. This was when Tyndale's New Testaments were first distributed at Oxford; and the charge against Taverner was his "hyding of Clarkes bookes under the boardes in his schole." Taverner was not only a singer, but "in the tyme of his blyndness had made songes to popishe ditties"; and in this way had won upon the regard of Wolsey, who, when he heard that Taverner was suspected and in prison, ordered him to be released, "saying, that he was but a Musician."<sup>2</sup> Shortly after this Taverner entered upon the study of the law, and was admitted to the Inner-Temple, where, it is said, "his way was to quote the Law in *Greek* when he read anything thereof."<sup>3</sup> In 1534 he was taken into the service of Cromwell, who was then Secretary of State, and by his recommendation was made in 1537, one of the Clerks of the Signet. Taverner held this position until the reign of Mary; though in 1541, and again in 1543, he was committed to the Tower "as a Gospeller, and for publishing the Bible." Yet he acquitted himself so well that in both instances he was soon released and restored to the King's favor.<sup>4</sup>

Richard Taverner deserves to be held in grateful remembrance not only as a scholar, but as a layman devoting himself to the interests of the Reformation, by revising the Scripture and preaching the Gospel. In 1552, on the accession of Edward VI., Taverner was especially licensed to preach the Gospel throughout the king's dominions. When Mary came to the throne he was compelled to desist; but upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, "he resumed his preaching at Oxford and elsewhere." He was respected and honored by the queen, who besides offering him knighthood, made him high sheriff of Oxford in 1569. He died July 14, 1575, in the seven-

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1174.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1174.

<sup>3</sup> *Lewis' History of English Translations of the Bible*, p. 131.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

tieth year of his age, and was buried in the chancel of the church with great solemnity.”<sup>1</sup>

A second edition of Taverner's New Testament, and possibly the whole Bible, was put forth in 1539.<sup>2</sup> In 1549, an edition of Taverner's Bible was issued by Daye and Seres, in 5 vols., 12mo. Some of these volumes were not printed till 1550 and 1551. The design of printing the edition “in sundry partes,” was professedly “for these pore,—that they which are not able to bie the hole, bie a part.”<sup>3</sup> There is no complete set of these volumes known.<sup>4</sup> Becke's revision of Taverner's Bible was printed in 1551 by John Daye. Nearly the whole of the Old Testament is Taverner's, with but a few changes by Becke. The third book of Maccabees appeared in this edition for the first time. There is an imperfect copy of this Bible in the Lane Seminary Library at Cincinnati. It begins with Gen. xxxix., and ends with the Epistle to the Colossians. It contains Tyndale's prologues. The notes are printed at the end of the chapters, but are omitted till you come to the book of Job. The Old Testament is divided into three parts; the first ending with Deuteronomy, the second with Job, and the third with Malachi. Maccabees is divided into three books. The title of the New Testament reads: “The Newe Testamente of oure Savioure Jesu Christe diligently translated accordynge to y<sup>e</sup> Greke, with certayne Notes folowynge the chapters, wherein the hardest doutes are declared for y<sup>e</sup> better understandynge of the unlearned reader.” That this is a Becke's Taverner appears from the rendering of Gen. xliii. 11. . . . “take of the frutes of the land in your vessels, and carry the man a present *a quantytte of bawme* ;” which Tyndale and Coverdale had rendered *a curtesy balme*. Also in II. (or iii) Kings, xxiii. 5,

<sup>1</sup> Chalmer's *Biographical Dictionary*, Art. *Taverner*, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Cotton's list embraces this Bible, but adds in a note that “no edition of the *Old Testament* has been yet found.” *Editions of Eng. Bibles*, p. 15. Oxford, 1852.

<sup>3</sup> Anderson's *Annals*, p. 650.

<sup>4</sup> Parts II. and IV. are in the British Museum Library; III. in the Libraries of St. Paul's and Trinity College, Dublin; and IV. in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries.

the word *kemurims* of Coverdale is translated *religious persons*. It also contains the III books of Maccabees.

In 1540 an edition of Matthewe's Bible was printed at London by Thomas Petyt and Robert Redman. This is called by Cotton, Cranmer's Bible; but Anderson regards it as an edition of Matthewe's Bible, from the fact that it differs from the Great Bible of Cranmer in wanting the prologue. The readings also, in the Psalms and elsewhere, are different. The text of the New Testament is after Erasmus, and is the same version as that printed by Redman in 1538.<sup>1</sup> In 1549, another edition of Matthewe's Bible was printed by John Daye and W. Seres. This was Becke's revision. It contain's Matthewe's notes, and with but few changes in the text. The following is transcribed as a specimen of this version:<sup>2</sup>

Ex. XX. A. And God spake all these wordes and sayd; I am the Lorde thy God, which haue brought the out of the lande of Egipte and out of the house of bondage.

Thou shalt haue none other Goddes in my sight. Thou shalt make the no grauen ymage neyther any similitude that is in heauen aboue either in the earth beneth; or in the water that is beneth the earth. Se that thou neither bowe thy self vnto them neither serue them; for I the Lord thy God am a gelouse God. and viset the synne of the fathers vppon the chyldren vnto the thyrd and fourth generacion of them that hate me; and yet shew mercye vnto thousandes among them that loue me and kepe my Commandmentes.

B. Thou shalt not take the uame of the Lord thy God in vayne, for the Lord wil not hold him giltlesse that taketh his name in vayne. Remembre the Sabbath daye that thou sanctifie it. Sixe dayes mayst thou laboure and do all that thou hast to do: but the seuenth day is the Sabbath daye of the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt do no maner worke; nether thou nor thy sonne, nor thy daughter, neither thy man seruaunte nor thy mayde seruaunte, neither thy cattel, neither yet the straunger that is within thy gates. For in sixe dayes the Lord made both

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of the Eng. Bible*, p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> Taken from a copy in the Boston Public Library.



Ex. XX. B. heauen and earth and the sea and all that in them is and rested the seuenth day : wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath daye and hallowed it. Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy dayes may be longe in the lande which the Lorde thy God geueth the.

C. Thou shalt not kyll.

Thou shalt not breake wedlocke.

Thou shalt not steale.

Thou shalte beare no false wnesse agaynst thy neygboure.

Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours house neither shalt couet thy neighbours wyfe, his man seruant, his mayde, his oxe, his asse or oughte that is hys.

Another edition of Matthewe's Bible was published in 1549, by Hyll and Reynolds. This was a reprint of the edition of 1537, "imprinted and fynessed in the laste daye of Octobre in the yere of oure Lorde God M. D. XLIX." But the work was very "faultily done." Eadie pronounces it altogether "a wretched production—the type bad and the arrangement devoid of taste and accuracy."<sup>1</sup> There is still another edition of Matthewe's Bible deserving notice, which was issued in folio by "Nicolas Hyll, VI May, M. D. LI." The colophon at the end of the New Testament reads: "Diligently perused and corrected and imprinted by Nicolas Hyll, dwelling in Saynct John Streete, at the coste and charges of certayn honest menne of the occupacion whose names be upon their bokes."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, different copies of this one edition bore severally and singly the names of the publishers, eight in all, who united together, doubtless for financial reasons, to put forth this edition. Their names were Robert Toye, Wm. Bonham, Abraham Veale, John Wyghte, Thomas Petyt, T. Raynalde, J. Walley, Richard Kele.<sup>3</sup> The condition of the copartnership seems to have been that a certain number of copies should be assigned to each individual bearing his name as the sole publisher. The following specimens are from a copy "Imprinted at London by Thomas Petyt, dwellinge in Paules churchye yarde, at the

<sup>1</sup> *History of English Bible*, I., 346.

<sup>2</sup> Cotton's *Editions of the English Bible*, p. 27. Oxford, 1852.

<sup>3</sup> Anderson's *Annals*, p. 331.

sygne of the Maydens heade. *Cum gracia et privilegio ad Imprimendum solum*, VI day of Maye, M. D. LI."<sup>1</sup>

Ps. XXIII. A. The Lorde is my shepherde, I can want nothyng.

He fedeth me in a grene pasture and leadith me to a fresh water.

He quickeneth my soule, and bringeth me forthe in the waye of ryghteousness for hys names sake.

B. Though I shoulde walcke nowe in the valley of the shadowe of death, yet I feare no euyll, for thou arte with me; thy staffe and thy shepehoke comforte me. Thou preparest a table before me agaynste myne enemyes: Thou annoyntest my heade with oyle, and fyllest my cuppe full. Oh let thy louinge kyndnes and mercye folowe me all the dayes of my lyfe, that I may dwell in the house of the Lorde for euer.

I. Cor. XIII. A. Though I spake with the tonges of men and angels, and yet had no loue, I were euen as soundinge brasse; or as a tikenlynge cymball. And though I coule prophesye, and vnderstode all secretes, and al knowledge; yea, yf I had all faythe, so that I coule moue mountains out of their places, and yet had no loue, I were nothyng. And though I bestowed all my goodes to fede the poore, and thoughte I gaue my bodye euen that I burned, and yet had no loue, it profyteth me nothyng.

B. Loue suffreth longe and is corteous. Loue enuyeth not. Loue dothe not frowardly, swelleth not, dealeth not dishonestly, seketh not her owne, is not prouoked to angre, thyncketh not euell, rejoyseth not in iniquite; But rejoyseth in the trueth, suffreth all thynges, beleueth all thynges, hopeth al thynges, endureth in all thynges. Though that prophesyinge fayle, other tongues shal cease, or knowledge vanyshe awaye, yet loue falleth neuer awaye.

For oure knowledge is vnperfecte, and our prophesyinge is vnperfecte. But when that whiche is perfecte, is come, then that whiche is vnperfecte, shall be done awaye. When I was a chylde, I spake as a chylde, I vnderstode as a chylde, I imagined as

D. a chylde. But as soone as I was a man, I put awaye chyldishnes. Nowe we see in a glasse, euen in a

<sup>1</sup> Taken from a copy in Boston Public Library.

darcke speakynge; But then shall we see face to face. Nowe I knowe vnperfectlye; But then shall I knowe euen as I am knowen. Nowe abydeth faythe, hope. and loue, euen these thre; But the chiefe of these is loue.

The above extract by comparison with Tyndale's revised edition of 1534 will be found to correspond with it word for word;<sup>1</sup> as we might expect, since the New Testament of Matthewe's Bible is based upon Tyndale's last revision.

This edition of 1551, of Matthewe's Bible, bears the nickname of the "Bug Bible," from the reading of Psalm xci. 5. So shalt thou not be afraid of any Bugges by nighte. Though this reading is not peculiar to this edition, as it is found in the edition of 1537; also in Coverdale's Bible, 1535. On account of the opposition of the bishops to the prologues and notes of the Bible of 1537, together with the desire on the part of Cromwell to put forth a Bible of a still greater volume, a new enterprise was projected soon after the first appearance of this Bible of 1537, which resulted in the publication of Cromwell's Bible, 1539, which was the beginning of a series of publications known as "Great Bibles" or "Bibles of the Largest Volume."

<sup>1</sup> See above on pages 123, 124.

## CHAPTER VI.

BIBLES OF THE LARGEST VOLUME. A. D. 1539, 1540.

CROMWELL'S Bible<sup>1</sup> is the first of a series of editions known by the comprehensive name of Bibles of the Largest Volume. These great Bibles, though issued at different times and under different auspices, owe their origin to the enterprise of Lord Cromwell, the first fruit of which was the edition of 1539. The Bible of 1537 met with serious opposition at the hand of Romish bishops on account of its anti-papal notes and prologues; and while, as yet, the first edition was unsold, Cromwell resolved to publish a Bible which for size and text, should excel all previous editions.<sup>2</sup> The work of revising and editing he put into the hands of Myles Coverdale, in whom he found not only a familiar friend, but one in whose scholarly attainments, conscientious spirit, and familiarity with the work of Bible revision, he could confide for the faithful setting forth of the Scriptures in English. Matthewe's Bible was chosen as the basis of this new Bible. Grafton and Whitechurch, the publishers of the Matthewe's Bible, were induced to lay aside that enterprise and enter upon this. Paris was chosen as the place of publication, on account of the facilities offered there for procuring the most skillful printers and the best paper.

That Cromwell was the leading spirit in this enterprise we

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes called *Cranmer's Bible*, the occasion being that Cranmer's prologue is occasionally found in copies of this edition. But the prologue belongs originally to Cranmer's *Bible*, 1540, and is distinctly referred to the title-page. See *Preface*, Bagster's *Hexapla*, p. 27. London, N. D.

<sup>2</sup> Coverdale's *Bible*, 1535, and Matthewe's *Bible*, 1537, were both in folio.

have abundant evidence in the letters written to him by Coverdale and Grafton from Paris. In one of these, they write: "We be entred into your worke of the Byble, wherof (accordynge to our moost bounden dutie) we have here sent unto your Lordship 2 ensamples; one, in parchment, wherein we entende to prynt one for the Kynges Grace, and another for your Lordship; and the second, in paper, wherof all the rest shalbe made; trustynge that it shalbe not onlye to the glorye of God, but a synguler pleasure, also, to your good Lordship the causer therof."<sup>1</sup> After stating something of their manner of proceeding, that they followed not only the Hebrew, "with the interpretacion of the Caldee, and the Greke, but we set, also, in a pryvate table, the dyversite of redinges of all textes, with such annotacions, in another table, as shall douteles delucidate and clear the same." They further express an assurance, that "the prynt" would please him, also that the paper was of "the best sorte in France." And that they look to him, not only for means to carry on the work, acknowledging at the same time that "the charge certaynly is great," but also for "favourable letters.... ether to the Bysshop of Wynchester, or to some other, whome your Lordship shall thinke moost expedyent."<sup>2</sup>

In another letter dated August 9, 1538, almost two months after the above, they write: "Pleaseth the same to understand, that your worke going forward, we thought it oure moost bounden dutie to sende unto your Lordship certain leaves therof, specially seyng we had so good occasyon, by the returnynge of your beloved servaunt Sebastian. And as they are done, so will we sende your Lordship the residue, from tyme to tyme." After explaining the *hands* and *marks* introduced into the text, they add: "this (amonge other oure necessarie laboures,) is the waye that we take, in this worke; trustynge, verely, that as God Allmightie moved youre Lordship, to set us unto yt, so shall it be to His glorie, and right

<sup>1</sup> Coverdale's *Memorials, Letter to Cromwell*, June 23, 1538. *App.*, pp. 195, 196.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 196.

welcome to all them that love to serve Him, and their Prince, in true faithfull obedyence."<sup>1</sup>

There is still another letter extant from Grafton and Coverdale to Cromwell bearing date of Sept. 12, of this same year, in which they bespeak the favor of Cromwell in behalf of Francis Reynold, their host, at whose press the printing was being done. After mentioning some particulars, they add: "Yf your Lordshippe shewe him, this benifyte, we schall not fare the worsse in the readynesse and due expedicion of this your Lordshippes worke of the Bible, which goeth well forward, and within few monethes, will draw to an ende."<sup>2</sup>

After perusing these letters, or even the above extracts, there can be no doubt of the fact that Cromwell was the chief patron of this enterprise. It is noticeable that the name of Cranmer nowhere appears in this correspondence, and yet it has been very common to designate the Bible of 1539, as Cranmer's Bible. Foxe in setting forth Cromwell's connection with this Bible, says: that he procured of the kyng of England his gracious letters to the Frenche kyng, "to permit and licence a subjecte of his to imprint the Bible in Englishe, within the Universitie of Paris because paper was there more mete....and more store of good workemen."<sup>3</sup> In giving a further account of this edition, he says: "the Printers whereof were the foresayd Richard Grafton, and Whytchurch whiche bare the charges. A great helper therto was the Lord Cromwell. The chiefest ouerseer was Myles Couerdale."<sup>4</sup> Grafton and Coverdale must have gone over to Paris early in the spring of 1538, since on the 23d of June they had entered fully upon the work of printing. They were encouraged, not only by Cromwell's support, but by the license

<sup>1</sup> Coverdale's *Memorials*, pp. 196, 197. This letter is dated from Paris and signed by "your faithfull Oratours, MYLES COVERDALE, RICHARD GRAFTON and WILLIAM GREY."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*. The original document is in the *Appendix*, pp. 56, 57.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1363.

of the King of France, and by the special regard of Bishop Bonner, the English Ambassador, who was instructed by Henry VIII. "that hee should ayde and assiste the doers therof in all their reasonable sutes."<sup>1</sup> Whereupon the bishop, either from principle or policy, was diligent in his attentions upon the work and workmen, both by visiting the place where the Bibles were being printed, and partaking of the dinners there provided at his own expense; also insisting by invitations, that the workmen should dine with him at his own house. In the mean time Bonner is preferred to the bishopric of London. He is still loud in his professions towards Coverdale and Grafton and will aid their enterprise. But very soon after he gained possession of his bishopric his promises were forgotten.<sup>2</sup>

But with all this encouragement Coverdale and Grafton are almost from the first, in daily expectation of trouble from the papal authorities of Paris. "We be dayly threatened, they wrote to Cromwell, "and looke ever to be spoken withall, as this berer can farther enforme your Lordship; but how they will use us, as yet we knowe not."<sup>3</sup> The story of printing this Bible at Paris, as related by Foxe, is substantially correct and is worthy of being rehearsed. After the French king had given his full consent, the printers went forward with the work, when there was "a quarell picked to the printer, and he was sent for to the Inquisitors of the fayth, and there charged with certeine Articles of heresie. Then were sent for y<sup>e</sup> Englishmen, that were at y<sup>e</sup> cost and charge therof, and also such as had the correction of the same, whiche was Myles Couerdall; but hauing some warnyng what would folowe, the sayd Englishmen posted away as fast as they could to save them selues, leauynge behynde them all their Bibles whiche were to the number of xxv. C., called the Bibles of the great Volume, and never recouered any of them, sauynge that the Lieutenant criminall, hauynge them

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1362.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1362.

<sup>3</sup> Coverdale's *Memorials*, App., p. 193.

deliuered unto him to burne, in a place of Paris (like Smithfield) called Maulbert place, was somewhat moued with couetousnes, and sold iiii great dry fattes of them to a Haberdasher to lappe in cappes, and those were bought agayn, but the rest were burned, to the great and importunate losse of those that bare the charge of them. But notwithstanding the sayd losse, after they had recouered some parte of the aforesayd bookes, and were well comforted and encouraged by the Lord Cromwell, the sayd Englishemen went agayne to Paris, and there gotte the presses, letters, and seruantes of the aforesayd Printer, and brought them to London, and there they became Printers them selues, . . . and Printed out the said Bible in London, and after that Printed sundry impressions of them; but yet not without great trouble and losse, for the hatred of the Bishops, namely *Steuens Gardiner* and his felowes, who mightly did stomacke and maligne the Printyng therof."<sup>1</sup>

In a letter dated December 13, 1538, Coverdale sought Cromwell's advice as to whether he should proceed to print the annotations which he had prepared. He thought it a pity that "the darek places of y<sup>e</sup> text (vpon y<sup>e</sup> which I haue allwaye set a hande) shulde so passe vndeclared." He promised to avoid all "contencious words or pryuate opynions,"<sup>2</sup> and before printing to submit them to Bishop Bonner for his approval. The *markes* and *handes* were inserted in several editions, but the annotations were never printed. By way of explanation Coverdale in his prologue to the Bible of 1539, says: "We have also, as ye may see, added many handes both in the margent of this Volume and also in the Text, upon the which we purposed to have made in the ende of the Byble (in a Table by themselves) certen godly annotacyons; but for so moch as yet there hath not bene suffycient tyme mynystred to the Kynge's moost honourable counsell for the ouersyght and correccyon of the sayde an-

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1362.

<sup>2</sup> Coverdale's *Memorials*, App., p. 199.



notacions, we wyll therfor om yt them tyll their more convenient leysour. Doynge now no more but beseke the, moost gentle reader, that when thou comest at soch a place where a hande doth stand, . . . and thou canst not attayne to the meanyng and true knowledge of that sentence, then do not rashly presume to make any pryuate interprétacyon therof, but submyt thy self to the judgement of those that are godly learned in *Christ Jesu*.”<sup>1</sup>

The first edition of this Bible was published in London in April, 1539, with the following title: “The Byble in Englyshe; that is to say, the content of all the holy Scripture bothe of the olde and newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes by the dylygent studye of dynerse excellent learned men experte in the forsayde tonges. Prynted by Richard Grafton & Edward Whitchurch, *Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum*, 1539.”

Around this title is the celebrated frontispiece by Hans Holbein. At the top of the page, God the Father is represented in the clouds, with his arms extended in the act of blessing; and on either side of him, are elaborate scrolls inscribed with appropriate Scripture texts; on his extreme left in the distance, Henry VIII. is represented kneeling, his crown on the ground, and the scroll indicating that he accepts the Bible as *the lamp of his feet*. In the center, immediately beneath, Henry VIII. sits on his throne, and is in the act of giving the Bible to the bishops on his right, also to the lords temporal on his left. The books thus presented are clasped and marked on the covers *Verbum Dei*. In the center and on the right of the title stands Archbishop Cranmer in the act of giving a clasped Bible to a kneeling priest; immediately opposite and on the left stands Lord Cromwell with a Bible in his left hand, which he is presenting to a layman, who receives it as a representative of several others standing near him. At the bottom of the page and on the extreme

<sup>1</sup> As cited by Lewis' *History of Eng. Translations of Bible*, p. 126.

right, is represented a priest who, from his pulpit, is preaching to a concourse of people, made up of men, women and children, who fill up the foreground; while on the left, stands a prison, through whose grated windows the prisoners look out and seem to share in the common joy; the joy of gratitude for the gift of the Bible in their own tongue, which is expressed in a multitude of scrolls bearing the inscriptions "VIVAT REX" and "GOD SAVE THE KING."

The prefatory matter of this Bible comprises: "1. The names of all the books of the Bible; 2. The Calender; 3. An Almanach for xix years; 4. An exhortation to the studye of the holy scripture gathered out of the Byble; 5. Summe and content of the olde and newe testament; 6. Prologue; 7. Descriptyon of the kynges of Juda and Jerusalem; 8. With what judgement the bokes of the Olde Testament are to be read." This Bible of 1539 went forth without a dedication, which as a prominent feature distinguishes it from the previous editions of 1535 and 1537. Another characteristic is that it was without notes; but its chief peculiarity is the additions from the Vulgate, which are inserted in the text, but in smaller type, indicating that they were not in the original text. These insertions are numerous, and are for the most part made up of single words and phrases, but in a few instances of whole verses.

The basis of this revision was the Bible of 1537. The changes made were comparatively few. The claim set up in the title that the translation was made after "the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by the dylygent studye of dyuerse excellent learned men experte in the forsayde tonges," must be understood as referring not to cotemporary fellow-helpers of Coverdale, but rather to those whose versions he consulted as interpreters. Such learned men as Erasmus, Pagninus, and Münster. The last-named of these published a Latin version of all the books of the Old Testament, which was printed at Basil in 1534, 1546. This, with the version of Pagninus, which was the first modern translation from the Hebrew, and was considered by the Jews more correct than earlier trans-

lations, was used by Coverdale in revising the Old Testament; while the Greek Testament of Erasmus, with its Latin translation, was used for the New Testament. The following is a single specimen from the Great Bible of 1539.<sup>1</sup>

Ps. XXIII. The Lorde is my shepherd, therefore can I lacke nothing.  
 He shall feede me in a grene pasture and leade me forth  
 beside the waters of comfort.  
 Hee shall conuerte my soule, and bryng me forth beside  
 the pathes of righteousnes for his names sake.  
 Ye though I walke through the valley of the shadow of  
 death.  
 I wyll feare no euyll, for thou arte wyth me, thy rod and  
 thy staffe comferte me.  
 Thou shalt prepare a table before me agaynste theym that  
 trouble mee; thou haste anointed my heade wyth oyle,  
 and my cup shalbe full.  
 But (thy) louing kindnes and mercy shal folowe me al the  
 dayes of my lyfe.  
 And I will dwell in the house of the Lord for euer.

The times just now are most inconsistent. The Bible is printed and freely circulated; but the friends of the Bible are again persecuted, even at the hands of their own friends. The connection of Cromwell and Cranmer with the trial and condemnation of the excellent Lambert is hard to understand. It was none other than Cromwell, "the friend of the Gospels," who read the sentence of condemnation against Lambert. Possibly Foxe is right in attributing this to the "malicious and crafty subtiltye of the Byshop of Wynchester, which desired rather that the sentence might be read by Cromwell, thē (than) by any other, so that if he refused to do it, he should likewise haue incurred the lyke daunger."<sup>2</sup> For it is this Bishop Gardiner, and not Cromwell, who now has the ear of the King. The noble stand which Archbishop Cranmer took in the three days' debate in the convocation against the

<sup>1</sup> From a copy in Harvard College Library. Published by John Caywood, London, 1568-9.

<sup>2</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, pp. 1283, 1284.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1296.

six bloody articles, reveals not only his learning and sympathies, but the sad fact that the Gospellers were losing influence with the king. These six articles Foxe calls "the whyp with vi strynges"; and Fuller describes them as: "Laws, *bad*, as *penned*, *worse*, as *prosecuted*, which by some Bishops *extensive interpretations*, were made *commensurate* to the whole *body of Popery*."<sup>1</sup> These cruel enactments in the hands of savage bishops became a serious hinderance to the Reformation. Henry VIII. is jealous of his reputation for orthodoxy. His words against Lambert were: "I will not be a *patrone unto heretickes*." But he had his supremacy to maintain as well as his orthodoxy. So that, with the Act of Supremacy in one hand, and the enactments of the Six Articles in the other, he made sad havoc in the ranks of both Papists and Protestants. So much so that many wondered "what *Religion the King* was of, his *sword* cutting on both *sides*, *Protestants for Hereticks*, and *Papists for Traytors*."<sup>2</sup> According to Fuller, "a motley *execution* happened, 1540, in *Smithfield*, three *Papists* hanged by the Statute for denying

<sup>1</sup> *Church History of Britain*, B. V., p. 230. London, 1655. These six articles in a condensed form read as follows:

- I. That in the Sacrament of the Altar, after consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, but the substance of Christ, God and man.
- II. That the communion in both kinds is not necessary *ad salutem*, by the law of God, to all persons.
- III. That Priests may not marry by the Law of God.
- IV. That vows of chastity ought to be observed.
- V. That it is meet and necessary, that private Masses be continued and admitted in this English Church and Congregation.
- VI. That auricular confession is expedient and necessary and to be frequented in the Church of God as of necessity to Salvation.

The penalty of denying the I. article was death by burning; the same for denying the III. article. In case of denying the other articles, the first offense was punishable with imprisonment, the second offense with loss of goods and death. See in full, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, pp. 1296, 1297.

<sup>2</sup> Fuller's *Church Hist. of Britain*, B. V., p. 235.

the *King's supremacy*, and as many *Protestants* burnt at the same time and place by vertue of the *six Articles*, dying with more *pain* and no lesse *patience*.”<sup>1</sup>

The influence of Cromwell is fast waning, but his work is not yet done. During the year 1539 fifty-seven monasteries were dissolved, thirty-seven of which were abbeys or priories, and twenty were nunneries.<sup>2</sup> The King was determined to break up these monastic houses, which were a disgrace to religion and a corrupting blotch on the body politic. His motives have been impugned, but the immoralities and cruelties brought to light by the investigation of the visitors certainly justified his course if not the manner of it. Burnet, after referring to the dissoluteness of these monks and friars, whose practices were “not fit to be spoken of,” says, of a report that he had read of a visitation of a number of these houses, that the account contained “Abominations in it equal to any that were in *Sodom*.”<sup>3</sup> But in respect to them, “it is better,” says Cranmer, “to pass over them in silence and let the world judge of that which is well known, than with unchaste words by the expression of their unchaste life to offend chaste and godly ears.”

Henry VIII., though yielding to the influence of the bishop of Winchester and his party, is at this time not unfavorable to the circulation of the Scriptures in the English tongue. In his letters patent of November 13, 1539, he expresses a desire that the people might attain a knowledge of God's word, and grants them “the free and liberal use of the Bible in our own natural *English Tongue*.”<sup>4</sup> Farther, he directs that the Lord Cromwell should have the special charge of printing the Bible for the “space of five years.”<sup>5</sup> This proclamation was obtained through Cranmer, and is supposed to have been in favor of Grafton, who was then putting forth the Cromwell Bible of 1539. The free use of the Scriptures

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's *Church Hist. of Britain*, B. V., p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, I., B. III., p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Records*, p. 186. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, *Records*, p. 186.

by the people was very distasteful to Bishop Gardiner, who sought to influence the king against it. On a given occasion Cranmer and Gardiner met together in the presence of the king, when in conversation the bishop magnified the danger of allowing the Scriptures to be read by the people; and in the course of his harangue, asserted that the Apostolical canons were of equal authority with the Scriptures, and appealed to Cranmer to disprove it. This the archbishop did, and his argument was so satisfactory to the king that he sharply reproved Gardiner, by telling him that *Cranmer* was an old and experienced Captain, and was not to be troubled by Fresh-men and Novices.”<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime Archbishop Cranmer has been arranging for a second edition of the Great Bible. In a letter to Cromwell dated November 14, 1539, he speaks of an interview with the printers, and after advising with them he had decided that copies of the Bible should be sold for 13s. 4d.; but since it was the desire of Cromwell that they should be sold for 10s. *per copy*,<sup>2</sup> “though Whitechurch and his fellowes thinketh it a small price, yet they were right well contented to sell them for 10s.,” provided that license should be granted to no other printer. Further he inquired concerning the prologue which he had sent for the king’s perusal and approval, with the request that it be delivered unto the said Whitechurch to be printed, “trusting that it shall both encourage many slow readers, and also stay the rash judgments of them that read therein.”<sup>3</sup> There had been unnecessary delay, as Cranmer manifests some anxiety as to the fate of his prologue; but he must wait five months longer, for the Bible will not appear till April, 1540. This delay is to be attributed to the Romish bishops, to whom Henry VIII. had referred the whole matter. Directly bearing upon this we have the testimony of Cover-

<sup>1</sup> Burnet’s *History of the Reformation*, I., B. III., p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> Equal in modern values to about \$37.50.

<sup>3</sup> Cranmer’s *Works*, *Letter cclxiv*, p. 396. Parker Soc. ed., 1846.

dale, as recorded by Fulke, who says: "I my selfe and so did many hundreds beside mee, heare that reuerende Father M. Doctor Coverdale of holy and learned memorie, in a Sermon at Paules Crosse, vpon occasion of some slanderous reports that then were raised against his translation, declare his faithfull purpose in doing the same, which after it was finished and presented to King Henry the Eight, of famous memorie, and by him committed to diuers Bishops of that time, to peruse, of which (as I remember) Steuen Gardiner was one; after they had kept it long in their hands, and the King was diuers times sued vnto for the publication thereof, at the last being called for by the King himselfe, they redeliuered the booke: and being demanded by the King, what was their judgement of the translation, they answered, that there were many faults therein. 'Well' (said the King) 'but are there any heresies maintained thereby?' They answered, 'there were no heresies, that they could finde, maintained thereby.' 'If there be no heresies' (said the King) 'then in God's name, let it goe abroad among our people.'" <sup>1</sup> That this refers to Cranmer's Bible of April, 1540, appears from a statement which Coverdale makes in this immediate connection: "that he did now himselfe espie some faults which if he might reuiue it once ouer againe, as hee had done twice before, hee doubted not but to amend." <sup>2</sup> This twice reviewing has reference doubtless to the editions of 1539 and 1540.

This second edition of the Great Bible is rightly known as Cranmer's Bible. It appeared in April, 1540, with the following title: "THE BYBLE in Englishe, that is to saye, the content of al the holy Scripture, both of the Olde and Newe Testament, with a prologe thereinto made by the reverende father in GOD, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. — This is the Byble apoynted to the use of the Churches. Prynted by Edward Whytchurche, *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*. MDXL." The colophon reads: "The ende of the Newe Tes-

<sup>1</sup> Fulke's *Defense of Translations of the Scriptures into English*, p. 2. London, 1617.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.

tament; and of the whole Byble fynished in Apryll, Anno MCCCCXL. *A dño factū est istud.*"

A fine copy of this Bible printed on vellum is in the British Museum. It has been rebound in three volumes. It was presented to Henry VIII. by Anthony Marler of London. On the first leaf there is the following inscription: "This book is presented unto your most excellent Highness, by your loving faithful and obedient subject and dayly oratour, Anthony Marler of London, haberdasher."<sup>1</sup> It appears that this Marler was a heavy sharer in the expense of this edition of the Bible. "It was agreed," in the privy council, "that Anthony Marler of London, merchant, might sell the bibles of the Great Bible unbound for x.s. sterling, (equal to £7 10s.) and bound, being trimmed with bullyons, for xii.s. sterling (or equal to £9)."<sup>2</sup>

The chief characteristic of this edition is that it contains the prologue of Archbishop Cranmer. The object of this prologue was to influence those who utterly repudiated the Scriptures in English; also those who by their wrangling disputations abused the reading of the Bible. "As touching the former," he says, "I would marvel much that anyman should be so mad as to refuse in darkness, light; in hunger, food; in cold, fire; for the word of God is light, . . . food, . . . (and) fire; . . . save that I consider how much custom and usage may do. . . . Such is the nature of custom, that it causeth us to bear all things well and easily, wherewith we have been accustomed, and to be offended with all things thereunto contrary. And therefore I can well think them worthy pardon, which at the coming abroad of Scripture doubted and drew back. But such as will persist still in their wilfulness, I must needs judge, not only foolish, froward, and obstinate, but also peevish, perverse and indurate."<sup>3</sup> In urging at length the

<sup>1</sup> Anderson's *Annals of Eng. Bible*, p. 360. London, 1862.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> *Prologue.* Cranmer's *Works*, pp. 118-125. This prologue was reprinted as late as 1583, in a folio edition of the Genevan Bible, with the following note at the close: "I have here at the request of diuers learned



value of the Scriptures for the common people, he modestly and perhaps wisely quotes the words of Chrysostom, whose authority the papists could not but accept. "Wherefore let us not stick to buy and provide us the bible. . . . And let us think that to be a better jewel in our house than either gold or silver. . . . For the Holy Ghost hath so ordered and attempted the scriptures, that in them as well publicans, fishers, and shepherds may find their edification, as great doctors their erudition." The archbishop concludes the first part of the prologue by saying: "I will here conclude and take it as a conclusion sufficiently determined and approved, that it is convenient and good the scriptures to be read of all sorts and kinds of people, and in the vulgar tongue."<sup>1</sup>

In the second part of the prologue the archbishop uses the authority of Gregory Nazianzen, who says: "It is not fit for every man to dispute the high questions of divinity, neither is it to be done at all times, neither in every audience must we discuss every doubt; but we must know when, to whom, and how far we ought to enter into such matters. . . . I forbid not to read, but I forbid to reason. Neither forbid I to reason so far as it is good and godly. But I allow not that it is done out of season, and out of measure and good order. . . . The learning of a christian man ought to begin of the fear of God, to end in matters of high speculation; and not contrarily to begin with speculation and end in fear."<sup>2</sup> Cranmer concludes the prologue by saying: "Every man that cometh to the reading of this holy book ought to bring with him first and foremost this fear of Almighty God, and then next a firm and stable purpose to reform his own self according thereunto; and so continue, . . . shewing himself to be a sober and fruitful hearer and learner. Which if he do, he shall prove at the length well able to teach, though not with his mouth,

men set down this notable preface, . . . as well for the godly exhortations and loving admonitions therein given, as also for the reteyning among us the memory of that excellent and worthy martyr T. C. sometimes Archbishop of Canterbury."

<sup>1</sup> *Prologue*. Cranmer's *Works*, pp. 120-122.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 123, 124.

yet with his living and good example, which is sure the most lively and most effectuous form and manner of teaching.”<sup>1</sup>

In carrying out the views of Cranmer as expressed in his prologue, Henry VIII., by proclamation, issued a few weeks after the appearance of the new Bible, required all curates and parishioners of every town and parish to provide themselves with a copy of the Bible under certain penalties, to the end that the people might have free access to the same. The price also of these Bibles was fixed by the king, to prevent extortion on the part of public dealers.

Bishop Bonner, in accordance with the king's order, commanded six of these Bibles to be set up in convenient places in the church of St. Paul; that all who came thither might have access to them.<sup>2</sup> But much more in harmony with his feelings, the bishop posted admonition upon the pillars to which these Bibles were chained, warning against loud reading and disputing. But, as Burnet adds: “People came generally to hear the Scriptures read, and such as could and had clear voices, came often thither with great Crowds about them. . . . Nor could the People be hindered from entering into disputes about some places, for who could hear the words of the Institution of the Sacrament, *Drink ye all of it*, or *St. Paul's Discourse* against worship in an unknown Tongue, and not from thence be led to consider, that the People were deprived of the Cup, which by Christ's express Command was to be drank by all; and that they were kept in a worship, to which the unlearned could not say, *Amen*, since they understood not what was said, either in the Collects or Hymns.”<sup>3</sup> Complaints, however, were made to the king, and doubtless by his consent new advertisements were posted up, threatening to remove the Bibles from the church if they continued to abuse so high a favor.<sup>4</sup> There were indiscretions committed, doubtless, by these Bible readers, and by those who listened to them; but

<sup>1</sup> *Prologue. Cranmer's Works*, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, I., B. III., p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 303.

they were such as would arise from the provoking opposition of the Romish party.

Cranmer's part in the work of revising this edition was, according to Strype, that he "added the last Hand, mending it in diuers Places with his own Pen and fixing a very excellent Preface before it."<sup>1</sup> But Myles Coverdale was the *chief doer* of this edition as he had been of that of 1539. The revision of April, 1540, bears the impress of Coverdale's hand, in that he introduced more changes in those portions originally translated by himself, than in the parts translated by Tyndale. His compromising spirit is also seen in his desire to make the version as acceptable as possible by introducing phrases or "supplementary clauses" from the Vulgate. These were put in smaller type, also in brackets, to show that they were not in the original text. The following may be taken as illustrations:

- Ps. I. 4. . . . but they lyke the chaffe whyche the winde  
scatered away (*from the face of the earth.*)
- II. 11. Serue the Lorde in feare and rejoyce (*unto him*) wyth  
reuerence.
12. Kysse the sonne leste he be angry and so ye peryshe from  
the (*ryghte*) waye.
- VII. 11. God is a righteous Judge (*strong and pacient*) and God is  
prouoked euery daye.
- XI. 4. . . . His eyes consyder (*the poore.*)
- XIII. 6. . . . (*Yea I wyll prayse the name of the Lorde  
the most hiest.*)
- XIV. 3. . . . (*theyr throte is an open sepulchre; wyth  
theyr tongues they haue disceaued, the poyson of aspes  
is under theyr lyppes. Theyr mouth is full of  
cursyng and bitterness; theyr feete are swift to shed  
bloude. Destruction and unhappiness is in theyr  
wayes, and the waye of peace haue they not knowen,  
there is no feare of God before theyr eyes.*)
- Acts II. 33. . . . he hath shed forth this (*gifte.*)
43. . . . and many wonders and signs were  
shewed by the Apostles, (*at Jerusalem. And quick  
feare came vpon all men.*)

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 444. London, 1694.

- IV. 25. . . . . whiche (*in the holy gost*) by the mouthe  
of thy seruauant Dauid (*our father*) hast sayde.
27. . . . . gathered themselues together (*in this  
citie.*)
- V. 15. . . . . (*and that they might al be deluyuerred  
from their infirmities.*)
- XIII. 30. But God raysed hym agayne from death (*the thirde daye.*)
- XIV. 7. . . . . (*And all the multitude was moved at their  
doctryne, but Paul and Barnabas taryed still at  
Lystra.*)
- XV. 34. . . . . it pleased Silas to abyde there still (*but  
Judas departed alone to Jerusalem.*)
41. . . . . (*commaundinge to kepe the preceptes of  
the Apostles and elders.*)

A limited comparison of Cromwell's Bible, 1539, with Cranmer's Bible, 1540, shows evidence of revision, though the changes are not always improvements. Take the following as examples:

- Rom. I. 6. Of whose nombre you be *that are called* of Jesu Christ.  
Cranmer's Bible has: *the electe.*
7. . . . . beloued of God and called *sayntes.*  
Cranmer's Bible has: *sayntes by election.*
9. . . . . I make mencyon of you *alwayes* in my  
prayers. Cranmer's Bible has: *praying alwayes.*
24. . . . . wherfore God gaue them vp *unto their  
hertes lustes to unclennes.* Cranmer's Bible has: *to  
unclennes thorow the lustes of their own heartes.*
25. . . . . which is *blessed* for euer. Amen. Cran-  
mer's Bible has: *to be praised.*
30. . . . . backbiters, haters of God, *doers of wronge.*  
Cranmer's Bible has: *disdayneful.*
- IV. 24. . . . . from *deeth.* Cranmer's Bible has: *from  
the dead.*
25. . . . . and rose agayne for to *justifie vs.* Cran-  
mer's Bible has: *and was raysed agayne for our  
justificacion.*
- V. 9. Moch more then now (*seynge* we are justified by hys bloud)  
shall *we* be saued from wrath thorow hym. Cran-  
mer's Bible reads: . . . . (*wee that* are justified by his  
bloud) shal be saued from wrath through hym.

12. . . . as all *men* synned. Cranmer's Bible has :  
as all *wee* haue synned.
15. . . . whych was geuen *by* one man Jesus  
Christ. Cranmer's Bible has : *of* one man.
- VI. 14. *Let not synne* haue power ouer you. Cranmer's Bible  
reads : *For sinne shall not* haue power ouer you.
20. . . . ye were *not vnder* ryghtewesnes. Cran-  
mer's Bible has : . . . ye were *toyde* of righteousnes.

There were six editions of Cranmer's Bible, including those of April, July and November, 1540, and May, November and December, 1541, making, with Cromwell's Bible of 1539, seven editions of the Great Bible. The prologue of Cranmer appeared in the above named six editions; and in every respect there was great similarity between them, as there was no systematic revision after the edition of April, 1540. The edition of July, 1540, is the last which contains the arms of Cromwell, as he was beheaded July 28 of the same year.

Thomas Cromwell fell a victim to the envy and jealousy of his enemies. On account of the preferments he received at the hands of the king, he was hated by the nobility, who looked upon his elevation, not so much as honor to him as injury to themselves. The clergy were exasperated at his presumption in accepting the high title and place of vicar general in spiritual matters; and then his active part in the dissolution of abbeys made his name odious to all classes excepting Protestants.<sup>1</sup> Cromwell fell, as Burnet well says, "under the weight of popular *Odium* rather than Guilt."<sup>2</sup> We are specially interested in the character of Lord Cromwell on account of his agency in furthering the Reformation, and of his life-long interest in promoting the translation and circulation of the English Scriptures. He was the chief patron of Myles Coverdale in his work of putting forth the Bible of 1535. Cromwell and Cranmer vie with each other in their zeal for an English translation of the Bible, that

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, B. V., p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet's *History of the Ref.*, I., B. III., p. 285.

should be acceptable to the people. It was Cromwell who complied with the request of Cranmer to obtain the king's authority for the setting forth of Mattheue's Bible, 1537, which lies at the foundation of the several editions known as the Bible of the Greatest Volume. And as Cromwell was prominent in the issuing the first edition, so Cranmer was prominent in putting forth the second edition of these Great Bibles. Among the able men of the court of Henry VIII., Lord Cromwell was the ablest. Cranmer was more learned, Bonner more crafty, Tonstal more cunning, and Gardiner more politic, but for recognized statesmanship and native ability Thomas Cromwell surpassed them all. But high places of honor, and distinguished abilities to fill them, as well as the esteem of the king, could not shield him from the poisoned shafts of his enemies. The affectionate regard of Cranmer for Cromwell, even after the king had turned his back upon him, must ever excite admiration. Even after Cromwell had been sent to the tower, Cranmer appealed to the king in his behalf, in which he magnified Cromwell's "diligence in the King's Service.....That he thought no king of *England* had ever such a Servant; upon that account, he had loved him.....But if he was a Traytor, he was glad it was discovered. But he prayed God earnestly, to send the King, such a Chancellor in his stead, who could and would serve him as he had done."<sup>1</sup> But the appeal was in vain, and Cromwell, after remaining six weeks in prison, was brought forth and beheaded at Tower Hill on the 28th day of July, 1540.<sup>2</sup>

The third edition of Cranmer's Bible which appeared in November, 1540, bears evidence on the title-page of the fall of Lord Cromwell, in that, in place of the shield, there is a significant blank. Another peculiarity of this edition is that upon the same page appear the names of Tonstal and Heath, the former of whom had been a very prominent Bible burner, and cruel persecutor of the active friends of the English

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's *History of the Ref.*, I., B. III., p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 284.

Bible. The explanation of this strange anomaly is that these names appear in conformity to the injunction of 1539, which forbade the printing the English Scriptures, unless examined and admitted by the king, or one of his privy council, or one of the bishops of the realm, whose name must therein be expressed. This edition of November is known as Tonstal and Heath's Bible. The title-page reads: "The Bible in Englishe, of the largest and greatest *volume*, *auctorysed and apoynted* by the commaundemente of our most *redoubted Prynce and soueraygne* Lorde Kynge Henry the VIII., supreme head of *this his Church and Realme* of England; to be frequented and *used in every church* within this his sayd realme, accordynge to the *tenour of his former* injunctions giuen in that behalfe. *Oversene and perused at the commaundmente of the Kynge's Hyghnes, by the ryght reverende fathers in God*, Cuthbert (Tonsal) bysshop of Duresme, and Nicolas (Heath) bisshop of Rochester. Printed by Edwarde Whitchurch. *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*" The colophon at the close of the New Testament reads: "The ende of the newe Testamente and of the whole Bible, Fynyshed in November, 1540."

For the most part the six editions of the Great Bible agree with each other. Yet Westcott points out hitherto an "unobserved fact, that in parts the edition of Nov. 1540 goes back from the text of April 1540 to that of 1539."<sup>1</sup> He furnishes the following examples in confirmation of the same:

- Is 1. 2. . . . I haue nourished and *brought up* children; 1539 and Nov. 1540. While the editions of April and July, 1540, read: *promot. d.*
4. . . . a *frowarde generacion, unnatural children*: 1539 and Nov. 1540. The editions of April and July 1540, read: *a seed of ungracious people corrupting their ways.*
7. . . . and it is desolate, as *it were with enemies in a battle*: 1539, and Nov. 1540; While April and July 1540, read; . . . as *they were subverted that are alienate from the Lord.*
8. . . . like a *besieged city*, . . . sacrifices unto me: 1539

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Eng. Bible*, pp. 200, 201.

and Nov. 1540. While April and July, 1540, read: a *wasted city*, . . . sacrifices unto me *saith the Lord*.

12. When ye appear before me; 1539 and Nov. 1540. While April and July, 1540, read: When ye *come to appear* before me.

— . . . who requireth you to tread; 1539 and Nov. 1540. While April and July 1540 read: . . . who requireth *this of you to tread*.

13. . . sabbaths and solemn days; 1539 and Nov. 1540. While April and July 1540 read: . . . sabbaths and *gathering together at the solemn days*.

The above examples will suffice to show that the edition of Nov. 1540, agrees with Cromwell's Bible of 1539, and consequently is not a reprint of the editions of April and July of the same year. And yet there is such a substantial agreement in the several editions of the Great Bible, not only with each other, but with the edition of 1537, that the friends of the Old learning, led on by Bishop Gardiner, were bitterly opposed to their circulation. Besides, these Bibles were the result of Cromwell's enterprise, and as such, must share his degradation. "The Bible," they said, "was of a traytor's setting forth, . . . For so they report, that Thomas Crumwel, late Earl of Essex, was the chief doer, and not your highness, but as led by him."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly there was no more Bible printing during the remaining days of Henry VIII., the last issue being the edition of the Great Bible of December, 1541.

After the death of Cromwell the Romish party came into power. They hated the Reformation and the English Bible. But they could not withstand the former, nor could they withdraw the latter from circulation. They determined, however, to suppress these heretical Bibles by an authorized edition of their own. This plan was secretly resolved upon, and was ready to be laid before the Convocation of 1542. Their proposition seemed very fair. It was that the bishops of the realm should put forth a revised edition of the English Bible. For some half dozen years past, the work of publishing revised

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, I., 635. 1816.



editions of the Holy Scriptures had become so common, that there was nothing in this proposition to excite suspicion. But Cranmer discovered their shrewd and artful intent, which was to so pervert the English of the translation by introducing Latin words and phrases, that it could not be understood excepting by those who were learned. The convocation met in February. An order came through the king, requiring the bishops and clergy to revise the translation of the New Testament. On Friday, during the third session, the bishops to the number of fifteen were assigned their several tasks. Bishop Gardiner being confident, and becoming over bold by the success thus far of his plans, could not rest. He must instruct the revisers. Accordingly, in the sixth session of this convocation, he presented a list of Latin words of his own selection out of the New Testament, and expressed his desire "that for their genuine and native meaning, and for the majesty of the matter in them contained, these *words* might be retained in their own nature as much as might bee; or be very fitly *Englised* with the least *alteration*."<sup>1</sup> This list numbers about a hundred words, and as a matter of interest is here inserted.<sup>2</sup> "*Ecclesia, Pœnitentia, Pontifex, Ancilla, Contritus, Olacausta, Justitia, Justificare, Idiota, Elementa, Baptizare, Martyr, Adorare, Dignus, Sandalium, Simplex, Tetrarcha, Sacramentum, Simulachrum, Gloria, Conflictationes, Ceremonia, Mysterium, Religio, Spiritus Sanct, Spiritus, Merces, Confiteor tibi, Pater, Panis præpositionis, Communio, Perseverare, Dilectus, Sapientia, Pietas, Presbyter, Lites, Servus, Opera, Sacrificium, Benedictio, Humilis, Humilitas, Scientia, Gentilis, Synagoga, Ejicere, Misericordia, Complacui, Increpare, Distribueretur orbis, Inculpatus, Senior, Conflictationes,*<sup>3</sup> *Apocalypsis, Satisfactio, Contentio, Conscientia, Peccatum, Peccator, Idolum, Prudentia, Prudenter, Parabola, Magnifico, Oriens, Subditus, Didragma, Hospitalitas, Episcopus, Gratia, Charitas, Tyrannus, Concu-*

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, B. V., 237.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 238. This list is taken from Fuller, repetitions and all.

*piscentia, Cisera, Apostolus, Apostolatus, Egenus, Stater, Societas, Zizania, mysterium, Christus, Conversari, Profiteor, Impositio manuum, Idololatria, Dominus, Sanctus, Confessio, Imitator, Pascha, Innumerabilis, Inenarrabilis, Infidelis, Paganus, Commilito, Virtutes, Dominationes, Throni, Potestates, Hostia."*

"Wherefore Gardiner's designe," says Fuller, "plainly appeared in stickling for the preserving of so many *Latine words* to obscure the *Scripture*; who, though wanting *power* to keep the *light* of the *Word* from *shining*, sought out of *policy* to put it into a *dark Lanthorn*; contrary to the *constant practice* of God in *Scripture*, levelling high *hard expressions* to the capacity of the meanest. For forraign terms are alwaies brought in, like *Joseph* with an Interpreter. *Emmanuel* doth not passe without an Exposition, *God with us*; nor *Ephatha* escape, but Commented on, *be thou opened*: Besides, the *Popish Bishop* multiplied the mixture of *Latine names* in the *Testament*, to teach the *Laity* their *distance*, who though admitted into the *outward Court* of *common matter*, were yet debarred entrance into the *Holy of Holies* of these *mysterious expressions*, reserved only for the understanding of the *high Priest* to pierce into them. Moreover, this made *Gardiner* not onely tender, but fond to have these *words* continued in *kinde* without *Translation*; because the *profit* of the *Romish Church* was deeply in some of them concerned; Witnesse the word *Penance* (which according to the *vulgar 'sound*, contrary to the *original sense* thereof) was a *magazin* of *Will-worship*, and brought in much *gain* to the *Priests*, who were desirous to *keep that word*, because that *word kept them*."<sup>1</sup>

At last the unsuspicious eyes of the honest-hearted Cranmer were fully opened to the designs of Gardiner and his friends, and by a masterly stroke completely thwarted them. The archbishop, after obtaining the consent and authority of the king, most unexpectedly to the papists, announced to the convocation: "that it was the *King's will and pleasure*, that

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, B. V., p. 239.

*the Translation both of the Old and New Testament should be examined by BOTH UNIVERSITIES."*<sup>1</sup> This met with fierce opposition on the part of the papists; but Cranmer insisted on the King's *will and pleasure*, which at length prevailed, and thus an end was put to the whole affair.

In this effort of Bishop Gardiner to put the Scriptures into a Latin dress, and thus render them meaningless, we recognize the old strife between the hierarchy and the people. From the time of Wycliffe, an important element in this conflict has been that of language. Chaucer's Saxon English was the rich inheritance of the people; and it had been handed down for a century and a half, not only in Chaucer's lines, but in Wycliffe's English Bible. History but in part can relate the opposition of the papal authorities to these Wycliffite versions, because they contained the Scriptures in the language of the people. And when William Tyndale, imbued with the love of the Saxon simplicity in our language, embodied this element in his translation of the New Testament, he did for the protestant religion and the common people a service beyond all praise. For which he and his Testament were burned in the fire.

In the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. there was a revival both of religion and language. The study of classic Greek was found to be not out of harmony with the study of Saxon English. Sir Thomas Elyot advocated the study of Chaucer for the sake of his English. So also it is related of Dean Colet, a cotemporary, that he labored to improve his English style by the study of the early poets, particularly Chaucer, who was then, even as now, regarded as the father of Vernacular literature. Erasmus, though he translated the Greek New Testament into Latin, warmly favored an English version of the Scriptures. True, the Latin was not only the language of the Romish Church, but the chief corner-stone of that Church. It was the boast of Bishop Bonner that the "Latin tongue should serue through the whole world, because

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, B. V., p. 239.

that they should pray generally altogether in one tounge.”<sup>1</sup> This, according to Bonner, was the order in the Church, and upon the carrying out of this order depended the universality and stability of the Church. We are compelled, therefore, to recognize an inseparable relation between language and religion. The Latin language is one with the Latin Church. “The abrogation of the Latin,” says Milman, “as the exclusive language of Christian letters and arts must be inevitably and eventually the doom of Latin Christianity.”<sup>2</sup> Latin at this period was not only the language of the Church, but of literature. Erasmus wrote his “Praise of Folly” in Latin. Though first published in 1511, it was not translated into English till 1549, when it was done by the hand of Thomas Chaloner. Sir Thomas More’s “Utopia” was also composed in Latin. It was published in 1516.<sup>3</sup> This was likewise translated by Chaloner, but not till thirty-five years after its first appearance. It was therefore a marked epoch in the history of the English language and of Protestant Christianity, when William Tyndale and Myles Coverdale translated the Bible in the vernacular of the people. So also when revised editions were multiplied and sent forth among the people, since it was a combined and sustained attack against the progress and stability of the Romish Church. The reign of Henry VIII., therefore, may be regarded as the summer time of the English Bible and English language.

But Henry in the closing years of his reign is not the man he was at its beginning. He is now subject to other advisers. Cromwell is gone, and Cranmer, single-handed, cannot always cope with the growing influence of the Romish party. The Parliament is now under papal control, and enacts, “that all manner of books of the Old and New Testament in English, . . . should by the authority of this Act, clearly and utterly be abolished and extinguished, and forbidden to be kept and used in this realm, or elsewhere in any of the Kings do-

<sup>1</sup> Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1763.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, VIII., 334.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest edition bearing a date is that of 1518, printed at Basle. See Hallam’s *Literature of Europe*, I., 285. New York, 1874.

minions.”<sup>1</sup> There was a provision, however, which excepted the Great Bibles, since these were published by the king’s authority. This act was passed in 1543, and three years afterwards was confirmed by “a straight and hard proclamation” of the king to the effect “that from henceforth no man, woman, or person, of what estate, condition, or degree, so euer hee or they bee, shall after the last day of August nexte ensuyng, receaue, haue, take, or keepe in hys or their possession the text of the new Testament of Tyndals or Couerdals translation, . . . . . nor of any maner of bokes printed or written in the Englishe tongue, which be or shall be set forth in the names of Frith, Tindall, Wycklefe, Joy, Roy, Basile, Bale, Barnes, Coverdall, Tournier (or) Tracy.”<sup>2</sup> All such books were to be delivered up to the authorities and to be publicly burnt; and those who refused to deliver up the books, were to be imprisoned and fined, as the council might determine.

The malignant spirit of the papacy now breaks forth anew. Heresy is again punished by fire. But this violence shall continue but a season. The days of Henry’s rule are soon to close. After an eventful reign of almost thirty-eight years Henry VIII. died.<sup>3</sup> He was a strong man among strong men. He was independent of, yet dependent upon, his councilors, and too often led by them. But he never forgot his supremacy either in Church or State. Ruthlessly he maintained his own will at the expense of friend and foe. He renounced papal control, but remained Catholic rather than Protestant. His sincere regard for Archbishop Cranmer he retained to the last. On his death-bed, it was Cranmer only that he wished to see. But when the archbishop was summoned, the king was speechless, and to inquiries could only by pressure of the hand give a token of recognition and of his own religious faith.

Upon the death of Henry VIII. Edward VI. ascended the throne. His reign was in every respect favorable to the

<sup>1</sup> Anderson’s *Annals*, pp. 378, 379.

<sup>2</sup> Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1427.

<sup>3</sup> January 28, 1547.

Reformation and the English Bible. From the first the changes were sweeping and radical. The statute of the six articles and all other bloody statutes against Protestants were repealed. The communion in both kinds was restored, and the stone altars were replaced by wooden tables. Romish ceremonies, such as the use of candles in Candlemas, ashes in Lent, and palms on Palm Sunday, were all done away with. Also all laws and canons against the marriage of priests were revoked.<sup>1</sup> Bibles of the Largest Volume were by public order set up in the churches, and vicars and curates enjoined not to discourage those "authorized and licensed," but rather they were "to comfort and exhort" them to read the same. At the same time straightly charging, that in the reading of the Scriptures "no man should reason or contend, but quietly hear the reader."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the public reading of appropriate Scripture was enjoined upon vicars and curates in connection with public worship. There was freedom both to read and print the Bible; also liberty of choice as to what version should be printed. Left to themselves, publishers would naturally seek to supply the public demand. And the results show that the people desired New Testaments of Tyndale's and Matthewe's versions: since out of fifty editions claimed to have been published during the short reign of Edward VI., fourteen were Bibles and thirty-six were New Testaments.<sup>3</sup>

There were no new translations undertaken during this reign, unless Sir John Cheke's translation of the Gospel of Matthew, and part of the first chapter of the Gospel of Mark shall be so regarded. Cheke's translation was made about the year 1550, and remained in manuscript till 1843, when it was published by James Goodwin.<sup>4</sup> In translating, Cheke's manner was the opposite of that proposed by Bishop Gardiner. "In vocabulary," says Marsh, "Cheke was a purist by principle; for in his almost only known original composition, the

<sup>1</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, pp. 1489, 1492.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis' *History of Translations*, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Anderson's *Annals of the Bible*, p. 411.

<sup>4</sup> The manuscript is in the Library of Bennet's College, Cambridge.

Hurt of Sedition, he employs none but words which had been for centuries familiar to every intelligent Englishman." In the translation of the Gospel of Matthew "he carries his purism still farther, and introduces many Anglo-Saxon compounds of his own coinage."<sup>1</sup> His object was to avoid words derived from the Greek and Latin, on the ground that they were unintelligible to English readers. To do which he was compelled to coin not a few words, of which the following are examples: *biwordes*, parables; *crossed*, crucified; *freschman*, proselyte; *forsai*, prophesy; *gain birth*, regeneration; *hed-priest*, chief priest; *helimp*, child of the Devil; *hunderder*, centurion; *moond*, lunatic; *orders*, traditions; which are inserted below in their several connections.<sup>2</sup> The verse divisions are here introduced for the sake of reference.

Matt. II. 3, 4. When K. Herod herd this, he was trobled and all Jerusalem with him and he gathered together al y<sup>e</sup> *hedpriests* and scribes of y<sup>e</sup> people and asked of them wheer Christ schold be born.

IV. 24. . . . or *moond*, or palseid, thej brought vnto him and he heeled yem.

XI. 13. For al y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>r</sup>pheets and y<sup>e</sup> law did *forsai* vnto Joa<sup>n</sup>s tijm.

XIII. 3. And he spaak vnto yem much in *biwordes* and said.

XV. 2. whi do y<sup>r</sup> discipils break y<sup>e</sup> *orders* of y<sup>e</sup> elders.

XIX. 28. Jesus said vnto yem, Je y<sup>t</sup> hav folowed me in y<sup>e</sup> *gain birth*.

XXII. 23. At y<sup>t</sup> tijm cam y<sup>e</sup> Saddoucais vnto him, who sai y<sup>e</sup>er is no *gainrising*.

30. For in y<sup>e</sup> *vprising* noyer schal men mari nor women be married.

XXIII. 15. . . . to maak oon *freschman*, and y<sup>t</sup> being doon ie maak him twijs as much an *helimp* as iourselves.

XXVII. 22. . . . let him be *crossed* sai y<sup>e</sup>i al.

Besides Cheke made changes in the mode of spelling sufficiently radical to suit the theories of modern reformers

<sup>1</sup> *English Language and Literature*, p. 521. New York, 1862.

<sup>2</sup> *Gospels of Matthew and Mark*. Translated by Sir John Cheek. London, 1843.

in orthography. The following rules have been laid down as comprehending in part his system of reform.<sup>1</sup> In all cases where the vowel *a* was long, he used *aa* and omitted the *e* final, as: *taak*, take; *prepaar*, prepare; *haat*, hate; *maad*, made; *spaak*, spake. In the same manner he used other long vowels, as: *thijn*, thine; *mijn*, mine; *aloon*, alone; *oon*, one; *moor*, more; *stoon*, stone. Again diphthongs were done away with, and double vowels used in their stead, as: *speek*, speak; *theer*, their; *boot*, boat; *geestes*, guests; *bijlt*, built. The final *e* was utterly abolished as being useless, as; *giv*, give; *curs*, curse; *cam*, came. Another rule was to omit silent letters in the middle of words, as: *dout*, doubt; *det*, debt; *faut*, fault; *wold*, would. Another peculiarity was the substituting the letter *i* for *y*, as: *iou*, you; *pai*, pay; *mighti*, mighty; sometimes, however, at the end of a word the double vowel *ee* was substituted for *y*, as: *honestee*, honesty; *extremitee*, extremity. Again he gives to *y* the power of *th* in the beginning, middle and end of words, as: *oŷer*, other; *booy*, both; *yem*, them.

Cheke's abbreviations and contractions are not all new, but they are so numerous as to obscure the meaning of the text. As examples we find; *pform*, perform; *p<sup>o</sup>pheet*, prophet; *L*, Lord; *K*, Kingdom. In a very few instances he makes use of Greek letters for the sake of abbreviation, as in the words: *axes*, aches; *raxa*, race; *Jonas*, Joonas; *Jwatham*, Jooatham.<sup>2</sup>

The following is here transcribed as a specimen of Cheke's manner in his translation:

Matt. V. 1-20. And he seing y<sup>e</sup> great resort went vp into y<sup>e</sup> hil.

And when he was set his discipils cam vnto him, and he opened his mouth and taught them on this wise.

Happi be y<sup>e</sup> beggars in sprijt, for y<sup>e</sup> kingdom of heeuen is theers.

Happi be y<sup>e</sup> moorners, for y<sup>e</sup>i schal be comforted.

<sup>1</sup> *Gospels of Matthew and Mark. Introduction*, pp. 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 20, 21.



Happi be y<sup>e</sup> meek, for y<sup>e</sup>i schal enherit y<sup>e</sup> earth.

Happi be y<sup>e</sup> hungri and thursti of rightuousnes for y<sup>e</sup>i schal be filled.

Happi be y<sup>e</sup> pitiful, for y<sup>e</sup>i schal be pitied.

Happi be y<sup>e</sup> cleen in hart for y<sup>e</sup>i schal see god.

Happi be y<sup>e</sup> peesmakers for y<sup>e</sup>i schal be called godds children.

Happi be y<sup>e</sup> persecuted for rightuousnes saak, for y<sup>e</sup> kingdom of heaven is theers.

Happi be yow, when y<sup>e</sup>i rebuke yow, and persecut yow, and speck al evel and lie against yow for mi cause, be glad and reiois for yo<sup>r</sup> reward in heaven is great. For so persecuted thej y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>p</sup>heets afoor your tijm.

Yow be y<sup>e</sup> salt of y<sup>e</sup> earth, if y<sup>e</sup> salt be vnsaverie wheerwith schal thinges be salted. It is good for none other thing, but to be throwen awai, and to be trooden down bi men.

Yow be y<sup>e</sup> light of y<sup>e</sup> world. A citee can not be hiden y<sup>t</sup> is set aloft on an hil, nor men burn not a light, and put it vnder a buschel but in a candelstick, and it giveth light to al y<sup>t</sup> be in y<sup>e</sup> house, let yo<sup>r</sup> light soo schijn befoor men y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup>i mai see your good workes, and give glori to your father which is in heaven.

Think not y<sup>t</sup> J cam to breek y<sup>e</sup> law or y<sup>e</sup> propheetes, J cam not to breek but to fulfil. truli I sai vnto yow, til heaven and erth goo awai, one iot, nor one titil schal not go awai from y<sup>e</sup> law, til al be doon. Whosoever then breeketh oon of y<sup>e</sup> lest of y<sup>e</sup> cōmandments, and techeth men y<sup>e</sup> saam, he schal be called y<sup>e</sup> leest in y<sup>e</sup> kingdom of heaven. But who-soever doth and techeth he schal be called greet in y<sup>e</sup> kingdom of heaven. For J sai vnto yow except your rightuousnes be moor plentiful y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Scribes and Pharisees, yow schal not enter into y<sup>e</sup> kingdom of heaven.

Sir John Cheke's purism was occasioned in part by a growing tendency at that time to adopt into the language Italianisms, Frenchisms and Latinisms. A few words from Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetoricke*, which appeared in 1553, doubtless will give a correct impression of this tendency.

"Among other lessons," he says, "this should first be learned, that we neuer affect any straunge ynkehorne termes, but to speake as is commonly receiued:....Some seke so farre for outlandishe Englishe, that they forget altogether their mother's language. ....Some farre journied gentlemen at their retorne home, like as they loue to go in forrein apparel, so thei will powder their talke with ouersea language. He that cometh lately out of Fraunce will talke Frenche Englishe, and neuer blushe at the matter. Another choppes in with Englishe Italianated, and applieth the Italian phraise to our Englishe speakyng. ....The vnlearned or folishe phantasticall, that smelles but of learnyng....will so Latine their tongues, that the simple cannot but wonder at their talke, and thinke surely thei speake by some reuelacion."<sup>1</sup> He gives a practical illustration of this folly, by quoting a letter written about that time, "by a Lincolneshire man for a voide benefice." The letter was addressed to the Lord Chancellor and began as follows: "Ponderyng, expendyng and reuolutyng with myself, your ingent affabilitie, and ingenious capacitie, for mundane affaires, I cannot but celebrate and extoll your magnificall dexteritie above all other. For how could you have adopted suche illustrate prerogative and dominiall superioritie, if the fecunditie of your ingenie had not been so fertile and wonderfull pregnaunt, &c."<sup>2</sup>

In the meanwhile the English language is growing in importance. As yet it had failed to command the confidence of authors. It was too humble and limited a medium to be intrusted with their reputation. In other words the mass of the people through sheer ignorance made no demand for English books. But times are changing for the better. Roger Ascham taught his own age the power of the English tongue. His *Toxophilus* and *Schole Master* were important contributions to the literature of that period. And they still serve as examples of good English. And yet Ascham shared

<sup>1</sup> Warton's *History of English Poetry*, III., 334, 335. London, 1781.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, note, p. 337.

so much of the prejudice of his age that he offered an apology for not employing in his writings the language of the learned. "If any man would blame me," he says, "eyther for takinge such a matter in hande, or els for wrytinge it in the *Englishe* tongue, this aunswere I may make him, that when the best of the realme thincke it honest (honorable) for them to use, I, one of the meanest sorte, ought not to suppose it vile for me to wryte; and thoughe to have written it in another tongue, had bene both more profitable for my study, and also more honest for my name, yet I can thinke my laboure well bestowed, if with a little hindrance of my profite and name, may come any furtherance to the pleasure or commodity of the gentlemen and yomen of *Englande*, for whose sake I toke this matter in hand."<sup>1</sup> In noble contrast with this petty strife for reputation which Ascham even could not quite banish from his mind, there were those during all these years, who labored for the sake of the people to place the Bible in English in their hands, which has proved from the beginning a powerful agency in elevating and purifying both our language and our religion.

The prevailing sentiment during the reign of Edward VI. was, that there was not so much need of new versions as a proper understanding of the Scriptures as already translated. Hence the Paraphrase of Erasmus, recently translated, was ordered to be placed by the side of the Bible in the churches; and vicars and curates were enjoined to possess themselves of a copy of the same, as well as of a copy of the New Testament. Public lectures or professorships were provided in the University of Cambridge for expounding the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. The design of these lectures was, first, to interpret the Scriptures according to the "Propriety of the Language," and second, to "Illustrate difficult and obscure Places and reconcile those that seemed repugnant to one another."<sup>2</sup> Besides this the Gospel was preached to the poor. Latimer, Bradford, and Knox, with all freedom and boldness, spake

<sup>1</sup> Roger Ascham's *Works*, p. 56. London, circa, 1763.

<sup>2</sup> Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, B. II., p. 197.

the word in its purity to the people. It is noticeable that in the counties where the doctrines of Wycliffe had been received and retained, there the Gospel was now most welcomed. Even after the accession of Mary the people thronged together to listen to such preachers as Knox, who exhorted them to persevere in the faith they had professed.<sup>1</sup> But this harvest season was cut short soon after the death of Edward.<sup>2</sup> Retaliation on the Protestants now became the watchword. Popish ceremonies were again introduced, and auricular confession re-established. Married priests were deprived of their livings and divorced from their wives, notwithstanding the laws were in force which legalized the marriage.<sup>3</sup> The Bible was rudely torn from its place in the churches, trampled under foot, and in some instances burned. Foreigners favoring Protestantism were banished the kingdom. Many leading Protestants fled, not so much from personal fear, as from the entreaties of their friends; while many, both men and women, rushed into exile to escape the fury of the storm. These cruel years of Mary's reign smell of fire and blood. And "dismal were the flames that blazed out everywhere, fed with the fuel of the bodies of poor men and women, under a popish legate, and two bloody bishops."<sup>4</sup> Among the victims sacrificed during this reign were such men as Thomas Rogers, the editor and reviser of Matthewe's Bible; Hugh Latimer,<sup>5</sup> the admirable preacher and early advocate of an English translation

<sup>1</sup> McCrie's *Life of Knox*, p. 82. N. D.

<sup>2</sup> Edward died July 6, 1553. Mary was crowned July 19, 1553, and reigned only five years and four months.

<sup>3</sup> Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, IV., 174. London, 1816.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 416.

<sup>5</sup> "I cannot here omit old Father LATIMER's Habit at this his appearing before the Commissioners, which was also his Habit while he remained a Prisoner in *Oxford*. He held his Hat in his Hand; he had a Kerchief on his Head, and upon it a Night-cap or two, and a great Cap such as Townsmen used, with two broad Flaps, to button under his chin; an old thredbare *Bristow* freez Gown, girded to his Body with a penny lether Girdle, at which hanged, by a long string of Leather, his Testament, and his Spectacles without case hanging about his Neck upon his Breast."—Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, B. III., ch. x., p. 336.

of the Scriptures, and a constant upholder of the right of the people to possess and read the Bible in their own tongue; and last, but first of all, Archbishop Cranmer, whose name is most intimately connected with the Reformation and the English Bible.

There was no special legislation against the English Bible during this reign, neither was there any occasion, since the constitution of Arundle, against the reading of Wycliffe's translation or that of any other person after his time, was in full force. There were, however, royal proclamations issued commanding the searching for and delivering up of heretical books that they might be burned. Heresy and the English Bible were supposed to walk hand in hand; hence, to be a friend of the English Scriptures was, in the estimation of papists, to be an enemy of the queen's laws.<sup>1</sup> The queen's council was altogether popish, consequently Protestants were dealt with as the worst sort of malefactors. "And things were carried in that severity," says Strype, "as though it were resolved utterly to extinguish the religion for ever in England; for, besides the exquisite pain of burning to death, which some hundreds underwent, 'some of the professors were thrown into dungeons, ugly holes, dark, loathsome, and stinking corners; other some lying in fetters and chains, and loaded with so many irons, that they could scarcely stir. Some tyed in the stocks with their heels upwards; some having their legs in stocks, and their necks chained to the wall with gorgets of iron; . . . some standing in Skevington's givies, which were most painful engines of iron, with their bodies doubled; some whipped and scourged, beaten with rods and buffeted with fists; some having their hands burned with a candle to try their patience, or force them to relent; some hunger-pined, and some miserably famished and starved. All these torments and many more, even such as cruel Phalaris could not devise worse, were practised by papists, the stout, sturdy soldiers of Satan, thus delighting in variety of tyranny and torments upon the saints

<sup>1</sup> Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1718.

of God.”<sup>1</sup> From such horrors hundreds took refuge abroad, and formed Christian congregations in various cities on the continent. And so it came to pass that to this Marian persecution we are indebted indirectly for one of the most noted and best English translations of the Bible. A translation made by English exiles at Geneva, and known as the Genevan Bible, an account of which will be given in the next chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, IV., 415, 416. London, 1816.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE GENEVAN BIBLE, A. D. 1560.

**A**MONG those who came to Geneva on account of the Marian persecution was William Whittingham. Having escaped from England, he first took refuge in Frankfort. This was in June, 1554; but on account of the troubles there, he, with other Non-conformists, removed to Geneva, which at that time was the center of Protestantism and the home of Calvin and Beza. When John Knox left Geneva for his own country, Whittingham, by the advice of Calvin, took orders in the Genevan form and became Knox's successor. By common consent Whittingham bore the palm for scholarship among his brethren; and by their counsel he undertook and completed the translation of the New Testament of 1557. This work, like that of Tyndale, was by a single hand, and done in exile, but in circumstances very different, since Whittingham was surrounded by friends ready to extend sympathy and practical aid. In the work of revision Whittingham availed himself of the learning of his brethren as well as of the most approved Greek helps and of translations in other tongues, "as the learned may easily iudge, both by the faithful rendering of the sentence, and also by the proprietie of the wordes, and perspecuute of the phrase."<sup>1</sup> The edition was in small octavo or duodecimo size, and printed by Courad Badius, at Geneva, in Roman type, with the following title: "The Newe Testament of our Lorde Jesus Christ, conferred diligently with the Greke and best approved Translations. With the arguments, as wel before the chapters as for every Boke and Epistle, also diversities of readings and most profitable annotations of all

<sup>1</sup> Whittingham's *Address to the Reader*. Eadie's *Eng. Bible*, II., 6.

hard places; Whereunto is added a copious Table. Printed by Conrad Badius. M.D.LVII." The prefatory matter is made up of an "*Epistle* by John Calvin," and an "*Address to the Reader*" by William Whittingham. At the end there is an "*Alphabetical Index to the New Testament*," and a "*Perfect supputation of the Yeres and Time from Adam unto Christ*."

The revision of 1557 was the first English New Testament that divided the text into verses, with breaks according to our present manner, and marked them with figures. In this division, Whittingham followed Robert Stevens' Greek Testament of 1551, but improved upon it, in that he attached the numbers to each subdivision or verse, while the Greek Testament simply placed them in the margin.<sup>1</sup> The familiar story of Robert Stephens dividing the Greek text of the New Testament into verses, while journeying on horseback from Paris to Lyons, is founded on the statement of his son Henry in the preface to his "Concordance," published in 1594. "His father," he says, "finding the books of the New Testament already divided into chapters, proceeded to a further subdivision into verses. . . . The whole work was accomplished *inter equitandum* on his journey from Paris to Lyons."<sup>2</sup> Probably he means not literally while on horseback, but at the several inns where he stopped in making this journey. At first this labor seemed of doubtful success, but soon it met with universal acceptance.

There are some who attribute the invention of dividing the Scriptures, that is the Latin Bible, into sections and subsections, to Steven Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, about the year 1220. But Prideaux insists that the honor belongs to Cardinal Hugo de St. Cher, who flourished about the year 1240. According to Prideaux, the chapters of our present Bibles correspond to the sections made by Hugo. These sections he divided into subsections and marked them by capital

<sup>1</sup> Townley's *Literature of the Bible*, III., 130.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, Art. *Bible*.



letters. These divisions were designed for convenient reference by his new "Concordance," which was the first made for the Latin Bible. The verse divisions, however, were not made till about 1438-1445, when they were introduced by a Jewish Rabbi named Isaac Nathan. Rabbi Nathan being familiar with Hugo's "Latin Concordance," determined to prepare one for the Hebrew Bible. He began his work in 1438, and was some seven years in completing it. He followed Hugo in his sectional divisions, but improved upon him in the subsections, by introducing the verse divisions of the oldest Masoretic Hebrew Bibles.<sup>1</sup> He says in his preface: "As I observed that the Latin translation has each book divided into a certain number of sections and chapters, which are not in our (Hebrew) Bibles, I have therefore marked all the verses, according to their numbers, together with the number of each chapter; I have also marked the numbers of the verses, as they exist in our (Hebrew) Bibles, for the greater facility of finding each passage referred to." This mode of indicating the verses as well as chapters was followed by Sanctes Pagninus in 1528, when he made his Latin translation of the Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek. Pagninus was followed in turn by Stevens, at least in part, in 1551.<sup>2</sup> And as Whittingham professedly followed these authorities, it would seem from the above statements, that while the Jews are indebted to Christians for the division of the text of their Bibles into chapters, Christians are indebted to the Jews for the subdivision of the chapters into verses.

It has been quite common of late years to rail against the verse divisions of the Holy Scriptures. Doubtless the sense of the text has sometimes been interrupted by this artificial

<sup>1</sup> These sections or verses were called by the Jews *Pesukim*. "They are marked out in the Hebrew Bibles by two great points at the end of them, called from hence *Soph-Pasuk*, i. e. the end of the verse." Prideaux' *Connection*, I., 273.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Ibid*, I., 273, 278. Horne's *Introduction*, II., Ch. IV., pp. 169-173. Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, Art. *Bible*. Kitto's *Cyclopaedia*, Art. *Scripture, Holy*.

system. It may possibly have given occasion also to the building of "doctrinal systems upon isolated texts." And yet too often the practical benefits of easy reference, and help to the memory, and the adaptation for reading in public, have been overlooked. The divisions of chapter and verse have no Biblical authority. Neither has that of the paragraph, neither has that of the comma, semicolon, or period in punctuation. They are all of human invention, and something of the same arguments produced against the former may be urged against the latter. The adoption, however, of the paragraph and at the same time retaining the chapters and the numberings of chapters and verses, is doubtless the most desirable mode of printing the text of the Bible.

While this translation of 1557 is based upon the New Testament version of Tyndale as contained in Matthewe's Bible, 1537, yet it is independent, and has probably greater claims to originality than any preceding English version. But that which externally characterizes this version next to its verse divisions, and words in italics which indicate that they are not in the original, is its marginal notes. These annotations are very numerous. For the design of Whittingham was to leave "nothing vnexpounded, wherby he that is anything exercised in the Scriptures of God, might justely complayn of hardenes; and also in respect of them that haue more profitted in the same, I haue explicat all such places by the best learned interpreters, as ether were falsely expounded by some, or els absurdely applied by others."<sup>1</sup> Whittingham thus sought to commend his work not only to the learned, but the unlearned. Since the time of William Tyndale a great change has taken place in public sentiment, in respect to annotations upon the Scriptures. Annotations were now not only permitted, but were in great demand. As there was little or no preaching or public expounding of the Scriptures, each reader of the Bible must interpret for himself. Hence Whittingham sought to meet this demand. His annotations were not controversial, but practical and thoroughly Calvinistic.

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Eadie's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, II., pp. 6, 7.

The following specimens of Whittingham's translation are taken from the reprint of his New Testament in Bagster's Hexapla:

- Matt. VI. 9. . . . Our father which art in heauen,  
halowed be thy name.
10. Let thy kingdome come. Thy wil be done euen in  
earth, as it is in heauen.
11. Geue vs thys day our dayly bread.
12. And forgeue our debtes, euen as we forgiue our  
debtors.
13. And lead vs not into tentation, but deliuer vs from  
euil. For thyne is the kingdome, and the power,  
and the glorie for euer. Amen.
- I. Cor. XIII. 1. THOUGH I spake with the tonges of men and Angels,  
and haue not loue, I am euen as sounding brasse,  
or as a tynkling cymbal.
2. And though I could prophecie, and vnderstand all  
secretes, and all knowledge; yea, yf I had all  
fayth, so that I could moue mountains out of  
their places, and yet had not loue, I were nothing.
3. And though I bestowe all my goodes *to fede the poore*,  
and though I gyue my body that I be burned, and  
yet haue not loue, it profiteth me nothing.
4. Loue suffreth long, is courteous; loue enuieth not;  
loue doth not boast it selfe, swelleth not.
5. Disdaineth nothing as vnbeseming, seketh not her owne  
things, is not prouoked to anger, thinketh not  
euil.
6. Reioyseth not in iniquitie, but reioyseth in the trueth.
7. Suffreth all thinges, beleueth all thinges, hopeth all  
thinges, endureth all thinges.
8. Loue doth neuer fall away, though that both prophe-  
ciinges shalbe abolished, and tongues shal cease,  
and learning shal vanishe away.
9. For we learne in parte, and we prophecie in part,
10. But when that which is perfect, is come, then that  
which is in part shalbe done away.
11. When I was a chylde, I spake as a childe, I under-  
stode as a chylde, I thought as a childe, but assone  
as I was a man, I put away chyldeish thinges.
12. For now we se in a glasse, and in a darcke speakyng;  
but then *sha! we se* face to face. Now I knowe

in part; but then shal I know euen as I am known.

13. Now abydeth fayth, hope, and loue, euen these thre, but the chiefest of these is loue.

The specific excellencies of this version may be seen in the following passages, which are superior to the renderings of our Authorized version, excepting in one or two examples in which the latter adopts the readings of the former.

Matt. XXIII. 24. Ye blynde guydes, which *strayne out a gnate*, and swallow a camel. In this reading Whittingham followed Tyndale. Our present version reads: *strain at a gnat*. This has been regarded as a blunder of the printers of the first edition of the A. V.; but Alford thinks that it is the correct rendering of the translators, and means "strain (out the wine) at (the occurrence of) a gnat." However this may be, the reading in our Bibles gives an incorrect, while that of Whittingham gives a correct, impression.

XXVIII. 14. And if this come *before the Gouuernour*, we wyl pacifie him, and saue you harmelesse. This is better than the A. V. which reads: And if this come *to the Governor's ears*, we will persuade him, and secure you. The reference is to a judicial hearing, rather than to a report that might reach the governor.<sup>1</sup> Whittingham was the first to render this correctly, or at least to relieve the ambiguity, that is after Wycliffe, who reads: And if this *be herde of the justice* we schulen counceill hym and make you siker (secure).

Mark XI. 17. . . . Is it not wrytten, My house shalbe called the house of prayer, *unto all nations*? This is after Tyndale, but the A. V. reads; *of all nations*. That Tyndale and Whittingham are correct, compare Is. lvi. 7, to which the Saviour refers. Our Lord's indignation was aroused in part, because this profanation was of the court of the Gentiles While the Jews sacredly kept the Jewish parts of the temple, they cared nothing

<sup>1</sup> Alford, *in loco*.

for this court, hence Jesus quotes the words of the prophet which they had done what they could to defeat.<sup>1</sup>

Acts XXVII. 9. When muche tyme was spent, and sayling was now jeoperdeous, because also *the tyme of the Fast was now passed*, Paul put them in remembrance. In this, the version of 1557 is followed by the A. V. Tyndale's version and that of the Great Bible read: because also *that we had overlonge fasted*. But the argument of the apostles is better sustained by the above rendering, in that, on account of the Fast being passed, it was very late in the season to undertake so long a voyage.<sup>2</sup>

Eph. IV. 18. . . . because of the *hardenes* of their harte. The A. V. has: the *blindness* of their heart.

I. Thess. V. 22. Abstayne from all *kynde* of euil. The A. V. reads: all *appearance* of evil. Alford translates *every form* of evil: and thinks the A. V. incorrect; first, because the Greek word does not signify *appearance* as used above; and second, because the two members of the sentence would not logically correspond. The exhortation is: "hold fast that which is good, and reject that which is evil."<sup>3</sup>

James I. 13. Let no man say when he is tempted, that he is tempted of God; for God *cannot be tempted with euyl*, nether tempteth he any man. Whittingham is the first to seize upon this reading, which is adopted by the A. V. Tyndale (1534) reads: For God tempteth not vnto evyll, nether tempteth he anie man.

I. Pet. I. 17. And if *so be that* ye call *him* Father which wythout respect of person judgeth accordyng to euery mans worke, . . . This is preferable to the A. V. which reads: . . . if ye call *on the* Father; in which it follows Tyndale. This translation of Whittingham is "the only one," says Trench, "which the original will bear." Alford translates: And if ye call *upon as your* Father Him who without respect of persons judgeth, &c.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Trench *on the Authorized Version*, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, in loco.

<sup>3</sup> Alford, in loco.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, in loco.

The New Testament of 1557, though excellent in itself, became a stepping-stone to a new revision of the whole Bible. Geneva at this time was not only the centre of Protestantism, but there were gathered here many eminent scholars. John Calvin had resided in Geneva since 1536: and Theodore Beza, though a recent comer, became a permanent resident for some forty years. There were assembled here also a goodly company of French scholars, who were engaged in revising Olivetan's version of the French Bible. So likewise was gathered here a company of English exiles, made up of such men as: Myles Coverdale, John Knox, Thomas Cole, Anthony Gilby, John Pullain, Christopher Goodman, Thomas Samson, and William Whittingham. And to the associated labors of these brethren, together with the advice and co-operation of Calvin and Beza, we are indebted, for the Genevan Bible. Neither ought we to forget those in the congregation "whose hearts God likewise touched, not to spare any charges for the furtherance of such a benefit and favor."<sup>1</sup> The share which these brethren had, as individuals, in the work, can not be determined. The impression prevails that the burden fell upon three or four of them. Knox and Goodman left Geneva for Scotland in 1559; Coverdale, Pullain and Cole returned to England in the same year. This would leave Whittingham, Gilby and Samson to complete the work. Heretofore the translating and revising of the English Scriptures has been, for the most part, the work of single individuals; but in this case we have an association of learned men uniting their wisdom and energies "for the space of two yeeres and more, day and night."<sup>2</sup> And the result is the best version since Tyndale and Coverdale made their translations. And as a translation the Genevan Bible constitutes an important link between the earliest English versions and our present Authorized version.

This Bible was finished on the 10th of April, 1560, and was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth in respectful but bold language.

<sup>1</sup> *Preface*, Genevan Bible. London, 1595.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

After congratulating her upon her preservation "from the mouth of lions," they express a hope that she will favor the cause of truth, and consequently urge upon her "utterly to abolish idolatry; to root out, cut down, these weeds and impediments, . . . in imitation of the noble Josias who destroyed not only their idols and appurtenances, but also burnt the priests' bones upon their altars, and put to death the false prophets and sorcerers."<sup>1</sup> In the Address to the Christian Reader, they claim for their work, "a ripe age and cleare light," also the advantages of being surrounded by "so many godly and learned men, and such diuersities of translations in diuers tongues."<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding this, and also the fact, that there were among them noted Hebrew and Greek scholars, they arrogated nothing to themselves "aboue the least of their brethren" in undertaking "this great and wonderful worke." Further they protest from a good conscience "that they have in euery point and worde . . . faithfully rendred the text and in all hard places most sincerely expounded the same. For God is our witnes, that we haue by all means endeaunoured to set foorth the puritie of the worde and right sense of the holy Ghost."<sup>3</sup> Here follows an explanation of their manner in the work of translation. "Now as we haue chiefly obserued the sense, and laboured

<sup>1</sup> As cited by Eadie, *English Bible*, II., 12. London, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the sources to which former translators had access, such as the German Zurich Bible, 1524-1529, the Latin translation of the *Old Testament* by Sanctes Pagninus, 1528, and the Latin version by S. Münster, 1534-35, these revisers had Leo Juda's Latin version of the *Old Testament*, which was completed by Bibliander and Pellican; this with Gaultiers revised Latin *New Testament* of Erasmus, was published in 1544. They possessed also the Latin version of Castalio, 1551. Though Castalio used great freedom with the text, by introducing classic phrases, yet his version had its influence upon later Protestant versions. But Beza's Latin version of the *Greek Testament*, 1556, exercised a greater influence than any of the other versions. Compare Westcott's *Hist. of the Eng. Bible*, p. 221. Hallam's *Lit. of Europe*, I., 382.

<sup>3</sup> *Preface*, *Genevan Bible*. London, 1595.

alwayes to restore it to all integritie ; so haue we most reuerently kept the proprietie of the woordes." Further, "diuersitie of speach" they noted in the margin ; and wherever in their judgment words were added to make the sense clear, such words were "put in the text with an other kinde of letter." In respect to the verse divisions, they say : we haue folowed the Ebrew examples, which haue so euen from the beginning distinguished them. Which thing as it is most profitable for memorie, so doth it agree with the best translations, and is most easie to finde out both by the best Concordances."<sup>1</sup>

This version was not an independent translation, based as it was upon the Great Bible ; and yet in the Old Testament particularly there were marks of originality and scholarship. The chief aim of the revisers seems to have been to make a verbal rendering of the original ; but "even where the changes are greatest," says Westcott, "the original foundation can still be traced, . . . At the same time there is abundant evidence to shew that they were perfectly competent to deal independently with points of Hebrew scholarship ; and minute changes in expression shew that they were not indifferent to style."<sup>2</sup> The following excerpts are here inserted as specimens of the translation, and are taken from an edition of 1560."<sup>3</sup>

- Ex. XX. 1. Then God spake all these wordes, saying,  
 2. I am the Lord thy God, which haue broht thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.  
 3. Thou shalt haue none other gods before me.  
 4. Thou shalt make thee no *grauē* image, nether anie similitude *of things* that are in heauen aboue, nether that are in the earth beneth, nor that are in the waters vnder the earth.  
 5. Thou shalt not bowe downe to them, nether serue them ; for I am the Lord thy God, a ielous God, visiting the iniquitie of the fathers vpon the children, vpon the third *generacion* and vpon the fourth of them that hate me ;

<sup>1</sup> *Preface*, Genevan Bible. London, 1595.

<sup>2</sup> *History of English Bible*, p. 231. London, 1872.

<sup>3</sup> From a copy in the Boston Public Library.



6. And shewing mercie vnto thousands to them that loue me, and kepe my commandments.
7. Shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vaine ; for the Lord wil not holde him gittlesse that taketh his Name in vaine.
8. Remember the Sabbath daie to kepe it holy.
9. Sixe daies shalt thou labour, and doe all thy worke.
10. But the seuenth day *is* the Sabbath of y<sup>e</sup> Lord thy God ; *in it* thou shalt not do anie worke, thou, nor thy sone, nor thy daughter, thy man-seruant, nor thy maide, nor thy beast, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates.
11. For in sixe daies the Lorde made the heauen and the earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seuenth daie ; therefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath daie and hallowed it.
12. Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy daies maie be prolonged vpon y<sup>e</sup> land, which the Lord thy God giueth thee.
13. Thou shalt not kill.
14. Thou shalt not commit adulterie.
15. Thou shalt not steale.
16. Thou shalt not beare false witnes against thy neighbour.
17. Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours house, neither shalt thou couet thy neighbours wife ; nor his man seruant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his asse, nether any thing that is thy neighbours.

- Ps. XXIII.
1. The Lord *is* my shepheard, I shall not want.
  2. He maketh me to rest in grene pasture and leadeth me by the stil waters.
  3. He restoreth my soule, and leadeth me in the paths of righteousnes for his Names sake.
  4. Yea, though I shulde walke through the valley of the shadow of death, I wil feare no euil ; for thou art with me ; thy rod and thy staffe, they comfort me.
  5. Thou dost prepare a table before me in the sight of mine aduersaries ; thou doest anoint mine head with oyle, *and* my cup runneth ouer.
  6. Douteles kindnes and mercie shal follow me all the daies of my life, and I shall remaine a long season in the house of the Lorde.

The Genevan Bible was a decided advance upon all former translations. The accuracy of its scholarship and the plainness of its Saxon English commended it both to the learned and unlearned. It became more popular than any previous version. Though not printed in England for several years after it was first issued, yet it very soon became the Bible of the household; and for more than a century and a half it maintained its place as the Bible of the people. Born of persecution and in exile, it was regarded as the peculiar child of Protestantism. A lively bond of sympathy existed between the brethren at home and those at Geneva during the Marian persecution; so that whether at home or abroad, they all suffered in a common cause. This fruit, therefore, of the labors of the brethren abroad was the more highly prized.

For a hundred and fifty years there had been an undercurrent of evangelical piety, which found its purity and life in the old and well-worn manuscripts of the Wycliffite versions. These Christians were unknown, yet called themselves known; they were persecuted, yet not destroyed. In the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. these Lollards were in hearty sympathy with the New learning and its New opinions, which were old to them, though new to others. These people were the first to welcome and distribute the New Testaments of William Tyndale, which came fresh into England from the printing presses of the continent. They welcomed not only the Scriptures in English in these newly-printed Testaments, but also the preaching of the Gospel by such men as Bilney, Barnes, Coverdale, and Hugh Latimer. Increasing in numbers, they increased in courage and boldness, and frequently met in town-halls and in open fields for public worship. And as they increased in numbers, they became a recognized power by the king and his councilors. In Archbishop Cranmer and Lord Cromwell they found staunch supporters. Especially prospered in the reign of Edward VI., they were persecuted in the time of Mary; but are now hopeful in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, and welcome with joy the un-

episcopal Bible from Geneva. These are they who are now known as Non-conformists and Protestants—an evangelical party, who from the first have had no sympathy with empty forms and sensuous ceremonies, and who, since the trouble in Frankfort, have been known as Puritans.”<sup>1</sup>

What the Wycliffite versions therefore were to the Lollards, and the New Testaments of Tyndale to the Broders in Christ or Known men, this Genevan Bible was to these Non-conformists or Puritans. John Knox is said to have used Tyndale’s New Testament until the publication of the Genevan Bible, when he immediately adopted the latter. The convenient size of this Bible was in its favor, both in respect to its price and use. Issued in a small quarto, it was quite in contrast with the folios of the Great Bible. Then it was the first edition of the Bible printed in Roman characters, the type of former editions having been that of Old English or Black Letter. Another characteristic of this Bible was that it was the first complete English Bible in which the text was separated into verses. The revisers adopted in the New Testament the verse divisions of Whittingham’s version, and in the Old Testament the “Ebrew examples” were followed. Further, for the help of the reader they added the arguments for the books, also for the chapters; likewise headings indicating the particular subjects on each page.<sup>2</sup> These improvements had been introduced, in part, in previous revisions; as in Coverdale’s Bible, the arguments for the several chapters were placed at the beginning of each book, while the Great Bible placed them at the head of each chapter. But the headings or catch-words at the top of each page were peculiar to the Genevan Bible. In this it was followed by the Bishops’ Bible, 1568, and by the Authorized version, 1611.

But that which added most of all to the acceptableness of the Genevan Bible was its marginal notes. There was at this time a spirit of religious inquiry prevailing among the peo-

<sup>1</sup> Neal’s *History of the Puritans*, I., 68. New York, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> Compare, *Address to the Christian Reader, Preface*, Genevan Bible.

ple. During the Marian persecution such horrors had been witnessed, perpetrated on account of religious opinion, and suffered for the sake of religious principle, that the questions of the hour were as to the truth of these doctrines, and the meaning of the Holy Scriptures. And as Queen Elizabeth's policy developed, she became more and more opposed to the preaching of the Gospel, consequently the people were dependent for instruction upon the annotations of the Holy Scriptures. Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth high expectations were entertained by Protestants of royal favor, and on this account undue license was taken by them ; so that partly on this account, and partly on account of her aversion to the plain Gospel, she required Archbishop Grindal to abridge the number of preachers, and to put down the religious exercise of prophesying,<sup>1</sup> "urging, that it was good for the church to have few preachers, that three or four might suffice for a county, and that the reading of the Homilies to the people was sufficient."<sup>2</sup> But in respect to the annotations, the author of the address to the "Christian Reader," says : "And considering how hard a thing it is to vnderstand the holy Scriptures, and what errors, sects and heresies grow dayly for lacke of the true knowledge thereof, and how many are discouraged (as they pretend), because they cannot attaine to the true and simple meaning of the same, we haue also indeuoured both by the diligent reading of the best cōmentaries, and also by the conference with the godly and learned brethren, to gather briefe annotations vpon all

<sup>1</sup> This exercise of *Propheying* consisted in explanations of certain portions of Scripture allotted to a given number of ministers assembled in a church for this purpose. They seem to have been large Bible classes held for mutual improvement in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. But the liberty enjoyed was abused by some in advancing heterodox opinions, and openly declaring against the liturgy and the hierarchy ; and by others in using the occasion for arguing and disputing. But notwithstanding all this, the archbishop defended these assemblies, and believed it possible to redress the irregularities by certain rules of order. See Chalmer's *Biographical Dictionary*, Art. *Archbishop Grindal*. Also Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, B. IX., p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Chalmer's *Dictionary*, Art. *Grindal*, p. 350.

the hard places, as well for the understanding of such words as are obscure, and for the declaration of the text, as for the application of the same, as may most appertain to God's glory and the edification of his Church."<sup>1</sup> The notes are for the most part original, yet some were taken from Calvin and others from Beza. And while the charge of theological bias has been brought against them, a cursory examination shows that in the main they are historical and practical. And by a careful noting it has been found, that even in the Epistle to the Romans not more than ten of the two hundred and fifty notes are "unmistakable Calvinistic utterances."<sup>2</sup> It is worthy of remark also, that the annotations of the Genevan Bible were so highly prized by the revisers of the Bishops' Bible, that they adopted many of them word for word, though they were publishing a rival edition.

Annotations at this period were most acceptable, and are always invaluable. But it would seem that we live in an age of Commentaries; that the labors of good men in this direction are carried to an extreme; so much so, that the text is in danger of being swallowed up by comments. Bible reading is degenerating into Commentary reading. It were better to go to the original source than thus to take the truth at second hand. It may be said of the Bible, as it has been said of the works of Shakespeare, that "notes are often necessary, but they are necessary evils."<sup>3</sup> In the reading of the Holy Scriptures, if we would "feel the highest pleasure," and attain the greatest spiritual benefit, we ought to read every book, not excepting that of Revelation, with "utter negligence" of Commentaries. When the attention is fixed, the reader ought not to turn aside for critical or even practical expositions, but "read on through brightness and obscurity." In this way the mind may lay hold of the truth and the spirit feed upon it. And all this notwithstanding many obscurities, since these very obscurities may have their use. "There is," says Dr.

<sup>1</sup> *Preface, Genevan Bible.*

<sup>2</sup> *Eadie's History of English Bible*, II., 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Dr. Johnson's Preface to Johnson & Stevens' Shakespeare*, I., 238.

Johnson, "a kind of intellectual remoteness necessary for the comprehension of any great work in its full design and its true proportions; a close approach shows the smaller niceties, but the beauty of the whole is discerned no longer."<sup>1</sup> In this Dr. Johnson was treating of Shakespeare, yet how applicable to the Holy Scriptures; since in their depth, *full design*, and *true proportions*, they cannot be comprehended by the intellect, but must be discerned by the spirit. But whatever may be true respecting the too great use of Biblical Commentaries in our day, there was no such abuse in the days of the Genevan Bible. The annotations of this Bible were not only at first, but so long as it was circulated, they continued to be an important element of its popularity and usefulness. Even in 1611, when the first edition of King James' Bible was printed, "Some of the *Brethren*," says Fuller, "were not well pleased with this Translation, suspecting that it would abate the repute of that of *Geneva*, with their *Annotations* made by *English Exiles* in that City, in the daies of Qu. *Mary*. . . . . Yea, some complained, That they could not see into the sense of the Scripture for lack of the spectacles of those *Geneva Annotations*."<sup>2</sup> And what is more remarkable, an edition of King James' Bible was printed in the year 1649, "with the Genevan notes, by way of pushing it into favour." This was about forty years after the first edition of King James' Bible was first published, and about the time it took the place that it has occupied ever since.<sup>3</sup>

Besides annotations they added "Mappes of Cosinographie . . . .for the perfect vnderstanding and memorie of diuerse places and countrys, partly described and partly by occasion touched both in the old and New Testament." In the edition of 1560, published by Hall, at Geneva, these maps are on a small scale, covering sometimes half, at others scarcely half of the page. The first map indicates the location of the *Garden of Eden*, Gen. ii. 10; the second, *The Journey of the Israelites*

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Johnson's *Preface* to Johnson & Stevens' *Shakespeare*, I., 239.

<sup>2</sup> *Church History of Britain*, B. X., p. 58. London, 1655.

<sup>3</sup> Anderson's *Annals of Eng. Bible*, p. 661.

through the wilderness, Num. xxxiii. ; the third, *The Land of Canaan as divided among the several tribes*, Josh. xv. There is also a map of *The Holy Land, as it was in the time of Christ*. This is placed at the beginning of the New Testament. These maps are designed, though rudely, to show the physical elevations of the country.

In addition to the above popular characteristics of the Genevan Bible there is one other which deserves mention, and that is the number of its illustrations. The first edition, 1560, contains the following: *The Arke*, Gen. vii. 18 ; *The Egyptians pursuing the Israelites*, Ex. xiv. 9 ; *The Arke of the Testimony*, xxv. 10-15 ; *The Table of Shew Bread*, 23-30 ; *The Candle sticke*, 31-37 ; *The first Covering of the Tabernacle*, xxvi. 1-6 ; *The Curtaines of Goates Haire*, xxvi. 7-13 ; *The Tabernacle*, xxvi. 15-30 ; *The Altar of Burnt Offring*, xxvii. 1-8 ; *The High Priest in his Official Robes*, xxviii. 3-4 ; *The Altar of Incense*, xxx. 1-5 ; *The Laver of Brasse*, xxx. 18 ; *The Tabernacle with the Tents pitched around about it*, Num. i. 51-52 ; *The Temple Uncovered*, I. Kings vi. 2 ; *The Temple Covered*, 21 ; *The First Figure of the King's House*, vii. 2 ; *The Second Figure of the same House*, vii. 3-6 ; *The Forme of the Pillar*, 15-16 ; *The Great Caldron*, 23-26 ; *The Forme of the Caldron*, 28-37 ; *The Royal Throne of Solomon*, x. 18-20 ; *The Vision of Ezekiel*, Ezek. i. ; *The Description of the Forms of the Temple*, xl. These cuts are comparatively well executed. They are small, and are placed in the midst of the page opposite the verse or verses to be illustrated.

The many excellencies of the Genevan Bible gave it a wide circulation. Though not printed in England till 1575, yet like the New Testament of Tyndale it was printed abroad and scattered broadcast throughout England and Scotland. So universally was this Bible accepted, that it was read from the pulpit, quoted in sermons, cited by authors, and adopted in the family. The bishops and those who stood at the head of the Universities gave their preference to this version, though many of them from their ecclesiastical connections, might justly be supposed to have been prejudiced against it.

The marked superiority of the Genevan to the Bishops', as well as to the Great Bible, gave it place independent of its Free Church origin. But while it enjoyed this preeminence, the fact that it was not printed in England until fifteen years after its publication at Geneva, argues that it could not have been altogether acceptable to those in high places. It is true that Queen Elizabeth issued a patent to John Bodleigh "for the term of *seven years . . . to imprint . . . the English Bible . . . finished in the present year of our Lord God, a thousand, five hundred and three score.*"<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding this, the Genevan Bible was not printed in England previous to the death of Archbishop Parker. To this fact join another quite as significant, which is, that it was often printed after his death, and there seems abundant ground for the supposition that the archbishop used his influence against it.<sup>2</sup> Henceforth, however, the Genevan Bible was more frequently printed than any other version. It became popular, particularly in Scotland. It was the first Bible printed in Scotland, which was in 1576-1579.<sup>3</sup> After the issue of the Bishop's Bible in 1568, a version intended by the Episcopal authorities to supersede the Genevan Bible, the latter was by no means set aside. An estimate made by Mr. Anderson shows, that of the one hundred and thirty editions of the Bible and Testament published from 1560 to 1603, ninety were of the Genevan version. And if the comparison be limited to Bibles alone, then of the eighty-five editions issued, sixty were of the

<sup>1</sup> Anderson's *Annals of English Bible*, p. 458.

<sup>2</sup> Bodleigh applied in 1535 for a renewal or extension of his patent; Parker manifested a willingness to extend it, but on condition that no impression be made except by advice and authority of the bishops, which was a virtual refusal. Neal's *Hist. of Puritans*, I., 83. Also, Anderson's *Annals of the Bible*, p. 461. London, 1862.

<sup>3</sup> "The publication of the Genevan version at Edinburgh without any change in orthography or any assimilation of the style to Scottish usage, shows that at this period, as at earlier times, the English of the south was quite intelligible to all the educated population of Scotland." Eadie's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, II., 48.



Genevan version.<sup>1</sup> These facts show that there was freedom in the reign of Elizabeth for printing and circulating the Scriptures; and especially, that the people were partial to the Genevan version. A partiality which maintained even to the time of Charles I., when the Genevan Bible sank gradually into disuse on account of the deservedly growing favor of the Authorized version. Mr. Anderson in referring to the wonderful survival of the Genevan Bible, says: that while the Bishops' Bible was not issued after 1611, the Genevan was printed at London in 1633, at Edinburgh in 1640, and at Amsterdam in 1644.<sup>2</sup> So that the Genevan version was in use full thirty years and more after the publication of King James' Bible, having enjoyed the preeminence for about three-quarters of a century. This fact at this time, was something remarkable in the history of English versions, finding parallels only in the manuscript version of Wycliffe, and the printed New Testaments of Tyndale. The Wycliffite manuscripts were in use from 1380 to 1525; and the printed New Testaments of Tyndale's translation continued in circulation from 1525 to 1605, the date of the last edition as noted in Cotton's list.<sup>3</sup>

The language of the Genevan version is remarkable for its Saxon simplicity. In style and diction it is one with preceding translations. And in cases where the readings differ, the translators studied not only correctness of rendering, but plainness in word and terseness of expression. The dethronement of papal supremacy in England by Henry VIII. was the virtual dethronement of the Latin language from its ecclesiastical and literary supremacy. It was not so understood at the time by the papists. They fondly hoped and believed that the Latin would be the universal language, because it was the sacred language of the Church. The Church would become universal, and the language would go with the Church.

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of the English Bible*, pp. 469, 470.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 661.

<sup>3</sup> *Editions of the Bible in English*, p. 57. Oxford, 1852.

Hence the bitter opposition to the translation of the Bible into English, which they stigmatized as treason against the Church. True, towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII., on account of circumstances, that is of the extensive circulation of the English Scriptures, their purposes were somewhat shaken. Hence the compromise of Gardiner, in which he yields to the necessity of an English version, and yet insists that a certain class of Latin words must be retained. Against this hierarchical theory that affirmed the supremacy of the Latin tongue, the friends of the Bible in English have boldly, and though sometimes at great odds, successfully contended. And though the English language steadily grew in strength and favor from the time of the Conqueror, and that largely through the fact of English versions of the Scriptures, yet even in the age of Elizabeth its foundations were not considered abiding. Lord Bacon had no confidence in the vitality of the English tongue. "These modern languages," he said, "will at one time or other play the bankrupts with books."<sup>1</sup> The Latin had been regarded in all the past as the *universal* and *eternal* language, and the wisest among men could not as yet see it otherwise. If Dante had broken from the Latin and trusted his fame to the vulgar Italian, it was not without a struggle with himself, as well as against the advice of his friends. Boccaccio, though he followed the example of Dante, questioned "whether the Divine Comedy had not been more sublime, and therefore destined to a more secure eternity in Latin."<sup>2</sup>

Though the purpose of the Reformers in translating the Scriptures into English was not to promote the interest of the English language, nor to break down the supremacy of the Latin, yet incidentally these were important elements in the conflict, and also among the important results soon to be reached. For even now in the reign of Elizabeth the conflict both in language and religion is not so much with the old

<sup>1</sup> Bacon's *Works*. *Preface*, I., xvi. Boston, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> Milman's *Latin Christianity*, VIII., 342. New York, 1874.

ecclesiastical spirit of Rome, as with the newly revived pagan spirit of Italy. Classic ideals now rule in the court and palace. Greek and Roman learning was a passion with women as well as men, and was pedantically assumed by all classes. In fashionable life every thing was tinctured by it. "When the queen paraded through a country town," says Warton, "almost every pageant was a Pantheon. When she paid a visit at the house of any of her nobility, at entering the hall she was saluted by the Penates, and conducted to her privy-chamber by Mercury. Even the pastry-cooks were expert mythologists. At dinner, select transformation of Ovid's metamorphoses were exhibited in confectionary; and the splendid icing of an immense historic plumb-cake, was embossed with a delicious basso-relievo of the destruction of Troy. In the afternoon, when she condescended to walk in the garden, the lake was covered with Tritons and Nereids; the pages of the family were converted into Wood-nymphs who peeped from every bower; and the footmen gamboled over the lawns in the figure of Satyrs."<sup>1</sup>

Queen Elizabeth's reign was characterized by an artificial stateliness in dress, manners, language and religion. In pageants and festivals social life ran high, while in forms and ceremonials religious life ran low. In literature there was also a corresponding sensuousness. The Italian language was fashionable at court, and was studied and affected by all who made any pretensions to refinement. So fashionable did this rage for modern Italian become, "that it almost rivalled the *classical mania* of the day." Fresh novels from Italy were sold in every shop. "So popular were the writers of this fascinating country that the English language was absolutely inundated with versions of the Italian poets and novelists."<sup>2</sup> Concerning this Ascham complains when he says: "These be the enchantments of *Circe* brought out of *Italie*, to marre mens maners in *Englande*; much by example of ill life, but

<sup>1</sup> *History of English Poetry*, III., 492. London, 1781.

<sup>2</sup> Drake's *Shakespeare and his Times*, I., 451. London, 1817.

more by precepts of fond books, of late translated out of *Italian* into *Englishe*, sold in every shop in *London*; commended by honest titles, the soner to corrupt honest manners.”<sup>1</sup>

With all this efflorescence of display and affectation of manners there was a corresponding fashion of speech. John Lyly, the author of the *Anatomy of Wit*,<sup>2</sup> set the fashionable world in a blaze with his new-fangled English. “All our ladies,” says Blount, “were then his scollers; and that beautie in court who could not parley Euphuesme, was as little regarded as shee which now there speakes not French.”<sup>3</sup> And as it not unfrequently happens, these *scollers* outwitted the wit of their teacher, changing what in him was fanciful into the fantastical. They played with words for the sake of wit and brilliancy. A fair estimate of Lyly and his new English is that he was a man of much reading, good memory, and ready wit; but ran into an excess of alliteration, antithesis, tropes, and rhetorical flourishes, playing upon words, and indulging in the use of high-sounding words for the sake of the sound, which altogether constituted a style not only artificial, but sentimental, affected, and stilted.

But while this pagan spirit of classic refinement and this affectation of manners and speech appeared to permeate the body politic, yet they were but a part of it, only as an efflorescence. For underlying this gilt and glitter, there was a substratum of earnestness, soberness, and honest common sense, which formed a grand subsoil for Gospel seed sown by the hands of Reformed husbandmen. The age of Elizabeth may be justly chargeable with folly, yet it was not destitute of wisdom. It was an age of hope and enterprise; an age that gave to the world great men, especially in literature. True, it was an age of contradictions, as was also the character of its queen; so that, while it gave a hearty welcome to the classic spirit of paganism, it likewise gave a hearty welcome to the humble

<sup>1</sup> Roger Ascham's *Works*, p. 253. London, N. D. (1761).

<sup>2</sup> Or *Romance of Euphues*, which appeared in 1578-9.

<sup>3</sup> Drake's *Shakespeare and his Times*, I., 443.

spirit of the Gospel. The Genevan Bible, together with previous English versions, was the teacher of this age both in language and religion. Yea, the commandments and precepts of the Bible were not more in opposition to the affected manners and free morals which prevailed, than was its plain English to the corrupted and fantastic speech then so prevalent.

The Genevan Bible was the book of the household when such men as Bacon, Raleigh, Herbert, Hooker, Spenser, Sidney, and Shakespeare were growing into manhood. Through its general use this Bible became not only the standard of the language, but a powerful influence in withstanding the public taste, furnishing, as it did, a noble example in word and phrase of pure English. While, therefore, there was no little conflict of opinion as to the best usage, there was a growing taste for language unaffected by Euphuisms and unadorned by foreign words. This prevailing pedantry was thoroughly ridiculed by Sir Philip Sidney in his character of Master Rombus,<sup>1</sup> and by Shakespeare in his Holofernes, who drew out "the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument."<sup>2</sup> Besides there was a growing confidence in the permanence of the English language. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, together with a few other works, says Hallam, "would have been thought to require a learned dress in any other country."<sup>3</sup> In praise of the English language at this period, Dr. Samuel Johnson says: "If the language of theology were extracted from Hooker and the Translation of the Bible; the terms of natural knowledge from Bacon; the phrases of policy, war, and navigation from Raleigh; the dialect of poetry and fiction from Spenser and Sidney; and the diction of common life from Shakspeare, few ideas would be lost to mankind for want of English words in which they might be expressed."<sup>4</sup> Sir Philip Sidney showed his appreciation of the

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellaneous Works. Lady of May. A Masque*, pp. 268-276. Boston, 1860.

<sup>2</sup> *Love's Labour Lost*, Act IV., Scene II. Also, V., I.

<sup>3</sup> *Introduction to Lit. of Europe*, II., 55. New York, 1874.

<sup>4</sup> *English Dict., Preface*, I., xix. London, 1813.

English language when he declared that for "uttering sweetly and properly the conceit of the mind, which is the end of speech, that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world, and is particularly happy in compositions of two or three words together, near the Greek, far beyond the Latin; which is one of the greatest beauties can be in a language."<sup>1</sup> However great may have been the literary influence of the Bible, its social and religious power was still greater. "The whole temper of the nation was changed. A new conception of life and of man superseded the old."<sup>2</sup> And this was the Christian conception of social equality based upon the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. A conception, most antagonistic to social distinctions that, in the age of Queen Elizabeth, and in every age, are so flattering to human nature, which though once denounced as narrow and Puritan, is now regarded as broad and Christian.

And now that over three hundred years have passed, in opening the Genevan Bible we find its language rich and simple, and will be surprised, perhaps, with the comparative fewness of its antiquated and obsolete terms. The following may be taken as examples of words obsolete either in form or sense: *cause*, accusation; *chapman*, merchant; *cratch*, manger; *crime*, accusation; *diseasest*, troublest; *fardels*, goods, or baggage; *frailes*, clusters; *grennes*, traps; *herberous*, hospitable; *iakes*, dung-hill; *pight*, pitched; *pill*, make a gain of; *plant*, sole; *trade*, path; which may be found below in their several connections.

I Sam. XXV. 18. Then Abigail made haste and toke two hundreth cakes . . . and an hundreth *frailes* of raisins.

II Kings XIX. 24. . . and with the *plant* of my feete haue I dried all the floods closed in.

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellaneous Works. Defence of Poetry*, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Green's (J. R.) *Short Hist. of the English People*, p. 457. New York, 1877.

- Ps. CXL. 5. . . . and set *grennes* for me.  
 Prov. XXII. 6. Teach a childe in the *trade* of his way.  
 Is. XXIII. 8. . . . whose merchants are princes, whose *chapmen* (are) the nobles of the worlde.  
 Dan. II. 5. . . . ye shall be drawn in pieces, and your houses shall be made a *iakes*.  
 Mark V. 35. . . . Thy daughter is dead ; why *diseasest* thou the master any further?  
 XV. 26. And the title of his *cause* was written aboue, THE KING OF THE JEVVES.  
 Luke II. 7. . . . & wrapped him in swadling clothes, and laid him in a *cratch*, because there was no rowme for them in the Ynne.  
 Acts XXI. 15. And after those dayes we trussed vp our *fardels*, and went vp to Jerusalem.  
 XXV. 18. Against whome when the accusers stode vp, they brought no *crime* of suche things as I supposed.  
 II Cor. XII. 17. Did I *pill* you by anie of them whome I sent vnto you?  
 Heb. VIII. 2. . . . and of the true Tabernacle which the Lord *pight*, and not man.  
 I Pet. IV. 9. Be ye *herberous* one to another, without grudging.

Other obsolete words may be found scattered through the Old and New Testaments, yet their sparseness argues the excellence of this version as to its language. And though this Bible has served its age, yet it deserves still to be prized as a storehouse of pure English.

The following, as specimens of the translation, are here inserted from the first edition (1560), the title-page of which reads: "The Bible And Holy Scriptures Conteyned In the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated According to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred With the best translations in diuerse languages, With Moste Profitable Annotations vpon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader. . . . At Geneva, Printed By Rouland Hall, M.D.LX."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From a copy in the Boston Public Library.

Matt. VI. 9. After this maner therefore pray ye. Our father which art in heauen, halowed be thy Name.

10. Thy Kingdome come, Thy wil be done euen in earth as (it is) in heauen.

11. Giue vs this day our daily bread.

12. And forgiue vs our dettes, as we also forgiue our detters.

13. And lead vs not into tentation, but deliuer vs from euil ; for thine is the kingdome, and the power, and the glorie for euer. Amen.

I. Cor. XIII. 1. Thogh I speake with the tongues of men and Angels, and haue not loue, I am (*as*) sounding brasse, or a tinkling cymbal.

2. And thogh I had the (gift) of prophecie, and knewe all secretes and all knowledge, yea, if I had faith, so that I colde remoue mountaines, and had not loue, I were nothing.

3. And thogh I fede the poore with all my goods, and thogh I giue my bodie, that I be burned, and haue not loue, it profiteth me nothing.

4. Loue suffreth long ; it is bountiful ; loue enuith not ; loue doeth not boast it self ; it is not puffed vp ;

5. It disdaineth not ; it seketh not her own things ; it is not prouoked to anger ; it thinketh not euil ;

6. It reioyceth not in iniquitie, but reioyceth in the trueth :

7. It suffreth all things ; it beleueth all things ; it hopeth all things ; it endureth all things.

8. Loue doeth neuer fall away, thogh that prophecynge be abolished, or the tongues cease, or knowledge vanish away.

9. For we knowe in parte, and we prophecie in parte.

10. But when that which is perfite, is come, then that which is in parte, shalbe abolished.

11. When I was a childe, I spake as a childe, I vnderstode as a childe, I thought as a childe ; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.

12. For now we se through a glasse darkely ; but then (*shal we se*) face to face. Now I knowe in parte ; but then shal I knowe euen as I am knownen.

13. And now abideth faith, hope & loue, (*euen*) these thre ; but the chiefest of these (*is*) love.

In 1576, Lawrence Tomson published his revision of the New Testament. On account of the high esteem in which



this translation was held, it was often substituted in the Genevan Bible for the New Testament version of 1560. Tomson was a noted linguist, commanding as he did a knowledge of twelve languages. He was not more celebrated for his erudition than for his worth of character. The title-page of his New Testament printed in 1595 in connection with the Genevan Old Testament, reads: "The Newe Testament of ovr Lord Iesvs Christ, Translated out of Greeke by Theod. Beza. Wherevnto are adioyned briefe symmaries of Doctrine. . . . And also Short Expositions on the Phrases and Hard Places. . . . Englished by L. Tomson. Imprinted at London, by the Deputies of Christopher Barker. . . . Anno 1595. *Cum priuilegio.*" This version differs but little from that of 1560, though it claims to be founded upon the Greek Testament of Beza. As a translation it has one marked peculiarity, that of rendering the article as a demonstrative pronoun. To illustrate this a few verses are here given from the first chapter of the Gospel of John :

John I. 1. In the beginning was *that* Word, and *that* Word was with God, and *that* Word was God.

4 . . . and *that* life was the light of men.

5. And *that* life shineth in the darknesse.

14. And *that* Word was made flesh, and dwelt among vs.

20. . . . and said plainly, I am not *that* Christ.

21. . . . Art thou *that* Prophet? And he answered, No. This is followed by the A. V., though the margin reads: *a* Prophet.

29. . . . Beholde *that* Lambe of God.

32. . . . I beheld *that* Spirite come downe from heauen.

41. . . . We haue found *that* Messias which is by interpretation *that* Christ.

45. . . . Jesus *that* sonne of Joseph, that was of Nazereth.

49. . . . thou art *that* Sonne of God; thou art *that* King of Israel.

51. . . . and the Angels of God ascending, and descending, vpon *that* Sonne of man.

This peculiarity runs through the whole New Testament. A remarkable example is that of I. John v. 12. "He that hath

*that sonne, hath that life and he that hath not that Sonne of God, hath not that life.*" The effect in many instances is harsh, but the peculiarity does not mar the version from its frequency, as the examples above might seem to indicate, since pages may be read without meeting with a single instance.

The Rheims version has enjoyed a preeminence in respect to its supposed influence in the enlargement of the English vocabulary. An extended comparison, however, will show that it must share the credit of such influence with other versions, and especially with this version of Lawrence Tomson. Such words as *adjure*, *admonish*, *blasphemeth*, *discerned*, *hymn*, *parable*, *ransom*, *reprobate*, and *revelation*, have been credited as peculiar to the Rheims, but they all appear in this version, also in others much earlier, as the following references will show:

Matt. IX. 3. . . . This man *blasphemeth*. This word is found also in Wycliffe, 1380, Tyndale's N. T., 1534, Great Bible, 1539, and Genevan N. T., 1557.

XIII. 31. Another *parable* he put forth vnto them. This word is common also to Wycliffe and Tyndale. It is found likewise in the Great Bible, 1539, and the Genevan N. T., 1557.

Acts. XIX. 13. . . . We *adjure* you by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth. This word is found also in the New Testament versions of Tyndale, Great Bible, and of Geneva, 1557.

Rom. I. 28. . . . God deliuered them vp vnto a *reprobate* minde. This word seems to have been adopted first by this version, which was followed by the Rheims and Authorized versions.

XV. 14. . . . and are able to *admonish* one another. This word is found also in the Genevan N. T., 1560. Tyndale, 1534, and Whittingham, 1557, read: *exhort*.

I. Cor. II. 14. . . . because they are spiritually *discerned*. This word is found likewise in Coverdale's Bible, 1535, and in the Genevan N. T., 1557; while the Rheims N. T., 1582, reads: *spiritually examined*, after Tyndale. The word is found, however, in the Rheims N. T., chapter xi. 29; but after the version of 1576.

I. Cor. XIV. 6. . . . except I speake to you, either by *reuelation*, or by knowledge. This word is found in all previous versions.

Eph. V. 19. Speaking vnto your selves in psalmes, and *hymnes*, and spiritual songs. Special credit has been given to the Rheims version for its agency in introducing this word. But it is common to all previous English versions. The Vulgate has *hymnis*, and the Greek has *humnos*.

I. Tim. II. 6. Who gaue himselfe a *ransome* for all men. This word is found also in Tyndale, 1525, and 1534; Great Bible, 1539; and the Genevan N. T., 1557. The Rheims version reads, *in loco: redemption*.

It will be remembered in this connection that Tomson's revision and the Rheims translation were published within a half dozen years of each other; so that while the above words are found in previous translations, yet because they enter more generally into the common speech of this age, they occur much more frequently in these than in earlier English versions.

For the sake of comparison the following excerpts from Tomson's version are here transcribed:

- Matt. VI. 9. After this maner therefore pray ye. Our father which art in heauen, halowed be thy name.
10. Thy kingdome come. Thy will bee done euen in earth, as it is in heauen.
11. Giue vs this day our dayly bread.
12. And forgiue vs our dettes, as wee also forgiue our detters.
13. And leade vs not into temptation, but deliuer vs from euill: for thine is the kingdome, and the power, and the glory for euer. Amen.
- I. Cor. XIII. 1. Though I speake with the tongues of men and Angels, and haue not loue, I am *as* sounding brasse, or a tinkling cymbal.
2. And though I had the *gift* of prophesie, and knew all secrets and all knowledge, yea, if I had all faith, so that I could remooue mountaines, and had not loue, I were nothing.
3. And though I feede the poore with all my goods, and though I giue my body, that I be burned and haue not loue, it profiteth me nothing.

4. Loue suffereth long ; it is bountifull ; loue enuieth not ; loue doth not boast it selfe ; it is not puffed vp :
5. It doth no vncomely thing ; it seeketh not her owne things ; it is not prouoked to anger ; it thinketh no euill :
6. It reioyceth not in iniquitie, but reioyceth in the trueth ;
7. It suffreth all things ; it beleeueth all things : it hopeth all things ; it endureth all things.
8. Loue doth neuer fall away, though that prophesyings be abolished, or the tongues cease, or knowledge vanish away.
9. For we know in part, and we prophesie in part.
10. But when that which is perfect, is come, then that which is in part, shalbe abolished.
11. When I was a childe, I spake as a childe, I vnderstood as a childe, I thought as a childe ; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.
12. For now we see thorow a glasse darkely ; but then *shall we see face to face.* Now I know in part ; but then shall I know euen as I am knowen.
13. And now abideth faith, hope, *and* loue, *euen* these three ; but the chiefest of these *is* loue.

The annotations to this version in the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, are for the most part confined to the margins, but in the Epistles, particularly to the Romans and Corinthians, they are quite voluminous, frequently taking up more than half the page, and are in very small type. Mr. Tomson's design was, that every dark sentence and doubtful word "should be made so plain that all might go through with it without wandering or going astray." As seen from the title-page, he lays no claim to originality, but distinctly asserts that the expositions are taken out of the large annotations of Beza and others. These notes are found in all the books excepting that of Revelation, concerning which he says: "I haue not thought good to put forth any such thing vpon the Reuelation as I haue vpon the other books." But in the edition of 1595, there is added to the book of Revelation, "A briefe and learned Commentarie, Written by Franc.

Junius, &c.” This translation of 1576 with its annotations was so acceptable, that it was printed and bound up with the Old Testament of the Genevan Bible, and published in Edinburgh by Andrew Hart, 1610. These Bibles were held in such esteem that it was considered a recommendation years afterwards, that an edition of the Bible should be conformed to that printed by Andrew Hart.

The Genevan Bible, whether made up of the New Testament of 1560, 1557, or that of 1576, met with unbounded popularity; and on this very account was opposed by the bishops of the Church of England. The translation was admired by some of them, on account of its scholarship, but denounced by others as coming from Geneva. Objections were made to the preface, that it touched too severely upon ceremonies retained in the English Church service. Serious objections were raised against the marginal notes, some of which were thought to affect the Queen's prerogative, by allowing the subject under certain circumstances to resist rulers. One of these objectionable notes is upon II. Chron. xv. 16. And King Asa deposed Maachah *his* mother from her regencie, because she had made an idole in a groue; and Asa brake downe her idole, and stamped it, and burnt it at the brooke Kidron. The objectionable comment upon this reads: “And herein he shewed that he lacked zeale; for she ought to haue dyed both by the couenant, as vers 13, and by the Law of God; but he gaue place to foolish pitie, and would also seeme after a sort to satisfie the Lawe.” Another exceptionable note was that on Exodus xix. 24. The comment on which passage reads: “Neither dignitie nor multitude haue auctoritie to passe the bounds, that Gods worde prescribeth.” Besides the bishops urged that it was a foreign book, in that it was neither translated or printed in England. The Roman Catholics were especially bitter in their opposition. One John Hamilton, a secular priest and a political intriguer, attacked the Genevan Bible soon after its first appearance. He impugned both the translation and the

notes, whenever they failed to support Romish traditions concerning purgatory, the holy virgin, prayers for the dead, and Christ's "pretious bodie and bluid." His solemn warning was: "Therefore, I beseeke you, dissaiuet people, to burn your corrupt Scot's Bibles in the fire, that your sauls be not tormentit with the intolerable pains of the fires of hell."<sup>1</sup> But the shrewdest and most scholarly attack was made by Gregory Martin, who was a thorough linguist, and the first among the translators of the Rheims version. His attack was against English translations in general, and the Genevan version in particular. The main charge, reiterated again and again, was that Protestant translations wilfully and intentionally corrupted the Holy Scriptures; that such "foule dealing," and such "partiall and false translations" were made on purpose to further heretical opinions.<sup>2</sup> These charges were ably confuted by William Fulke, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. Fulke's defense has not only outlived the charges, but by its vitality has kept them in existence.<sup>3</sup>

But the quiet move of the bishops, in which Archbishop Parker led the way, to put forth a new version, was designed to be the most effectual blow against the Genevan Bible. But in fact it proved the least hurtful. The publication of the Bishops' Bible, however, constitutes an epoch in the history of English versions, and will be treated of in the next chapter. While, therefore, the Genevan Bible survived all opposition for more than three-quarters of a century, yet at last it was superseded by the Authorized version. And this was by reason of the fact that the Genevan Bible bequeathed its excellencies to the Authorized version. So that, notwithstanding, it still lives in its influence and makes the Authorized version what it is now and what it has been for two and a half centuries, the accepted Bible of all English speaking people.

<sup>1</sup> Eadie's *History of the English Bible*, II., 56. London, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> Fulke's *Defense of English Translations*, pp. 1-24. London, 1617.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* In which the charges are set down as well as the answers.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE BISHOPS' BIBLE. A.D. 1568.

THE reign of Queen Elizabeth was a transitional period. In ecclesiastical affairs nothing was settled. The short reign of Edward VI. gave an impetus to Protestant principles which bade fair to decide the question of supremacy between the Old and New learning. A serious check, however, was given to this progress by the short but fierce reign of Queen Mary. But now the friends of the Reformation look upon the accession of Elizabeth with joy and heartfelt relief. Protestantism, just returned from exile, is stronger in its convictions and broader in its designs. Abroad it came in contact with men and ideas, and by such contact gained in self-respect; while at home it had been tried in the fire and thereby purified and made stronger.

At the first the reformers were over confident in respect to the friendship of Elizabeth. They attempted radical changes, such as "to set up King *Edward's* Service, to pull down Images, and to affront the Priests."<sup>1</sup> But in this they met with an effectual check from the queen, who, though slow in developing her policy, soon made it evident that not even the English Church, much less the Genevan Party, had anything to expect from her by way of partial favors. Passing between the extremes of Edward and Mary, she followed the ecclesiastical policy of her royal father, thinking by a middle course to reconcile opposing parties. She insisted, however, that there should be no persecution for opinion's sake, that the consciences of all should be respected. The two great ideals of Queen

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's *History of the Reformation in England*, II., B. III., p. 373. London, 1683.

Elizabeth were, order in the State and uniformity in the Church. And the latter, contrary to her boasted respect for the individual's conscience, was to be enforced for the sake of the former. During the reign of Henry VIII., the Church was made the child of the State, and political considerations ruled in ecclesiastical affairs. So under Queen Elizabeth, though she refused spiritual supremacy in form and title,<sup>1</sup> yet held bishops and deans subject to her royal will. She berated them to their faces,<sup>2</sup> and in writing to them threatened to unfrock them if they did not comply with her requests.<sup>3</sup> Dead to religious convictions, serious controversies in religion had no interest to her. "She was a child of the Italian Renaissance," says Green, "rather than of the New Learning of Colet and Erasmus; and her attitude towards the enthusiasm of her time, was that of Lorenzo de Medici towards Savonarola."<sup>4</sup>

The Reformation in England might have been thorough and evangelical had it not been for Queen Elizabeth. There was, on the part of the leaders of the evangelical party, the requisite spirituality, learning, and ability to have accomplished a grand work, especially since the people, weary of the Marian persecution, were so well prepared for it. But Elizabeth ignored the power of the Gospel, and having a decided distaste to Puritan simplicity, determined to hold to a part at least of the pomp and magnificence of the Romish Church. Her

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's *History of the Reformation in England*, III., B. VI., p. 274. "The Queen," says Jewel, "did very Solemnly refuse to be called the Head of the Church. She thought that Title was only due to Christ."

<sup>2</sup> "'Leave that alone,' she shouted to Dean Nowell from the royal closet, as he denounced the use of images; 'stick to your text, Master Dean; leave that alone.'" As cited in Green's *Short History of the English People*, p. 384. New York, 1877.

<sup>3</sup> "Proud prelate," she wrote, "you know what you were before I made you what you are! If you do not immediately comply with my request—I will unfrock you." Cited as above, p. 383, with the shocking oath here omitted.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 381.



opinion was that images were not contrary to the word of God, and that the use of them in the churches "might be a means to stir up Devotion, and that at least, it would draw all People to frequent them the more; for the great measure of her Councils was, to unite the whole Nation unto one way of Religion."<sup>1</sup> And for the sake of established order, she determined upon a compromise in things indifferent, to which both Papists and Protestants must submit. Elizabeth held to the vain hope that the time would come when Catholic and Anglican "could come together on some moderate common ground."<sup>2</sup> But this forced unity only begot diversity, and this constrained order only brought forth discord. So that from the beginning the establishment of Elizabeth pleased neither of the parties. "To the ultra Protestants it was no better than Romanism; to the Catholics or partial Catholics it was in schism from the Communion of Christendom; while the great middle party, the common sense of the country of whom Elizabeth was the representative, were uneasy and dissatisfied."<sup>3</sup>

Ecclesiastical partyism was rife in the time of Elizabeth. The Catholics, though under ban, experienced a secret but powerful revival. Priests disguised in "serving-men's apparel" swarmed in the North. And in other parts of England, though not permitted to preach, they administered mass in private chapels and reopened the iniquities of "the spiritual courts." They maintained "the Pope's authority," and revived the ancient usages of "commuting penances for money, compounding for moral enormities, and grinding the widow and the orphan by their fees and extortions."<sup>4</sup> While popery, thus revived, maintained its unity, Protestantism was divided, and yet strong notwithstanding its divisions. Non-conformists grew vigorous by conflict. The Puritan was a sturdy defender of his bald and radical principles; and had it not been for

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, II., B. III., p. 397. London, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> Froude's *History of England*, IX., 323. New York, 1839.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, X., 111.

his deep convictions and fierce energy, the English Church party would have been swallowed up by Catholic fanaticism. In the meantime the Presbyterians became a distinct party, setting up a new ecclesiastical polity with its corresponding discipline. They became, as it were, a wheel within a wheel; all of which gave no little offense to the State establishment.

But in the midst of this party strife there existed a pure evangelical spirit among bishops and clergy, and likewise among the people. To those who had the interests of a pure Gospel at heart, the times were at least hopeful. Bishop Jewel, in his letters at the close of the year 1559, wrote: "The People were much better disposed to the Gospel, than it was apprehended they could be." At the same time he expressed his fears: "That tho' Things were begun well, they would not end so well."<sup>1</sup> Again he wrote: "We hope our Bishops shall be Pastors, Labourers, and Watchmen, . . . That so being delivered from that King-like Pomp, . . . may have more Leisure to take care of Christ's Flock with due Attention."<sup>2</sup> Referring to the exciting debates springing up at that time respecting vestments, which he calls the "Habit of the Stage," he expresses a wish that it may be very soon done away with. Again he writes: "That the Doctrine was everywhere purely preached"; though in many places there was "too much Folly concerning Ceremonies and Masks. The Crucifix continued still in the Queen's Chapel. They all spake freely against it, but till then without effect."<sup>3</sup> He was told "that it was resolved on to have Crucifixes, of Silver or Tin, set up in all Churches; and that such as would not obey this, would be turned out of their Bishoprics. If that was true, he would be no longer a Bishop."<sup>4</sup> In the early part of the year 1560 he again wrote: "That a Change appeared now more visably among the People. Nothing promoted it, more than the Inviting the People to Sing Psalms. That was begun in one

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, III., P. III., B. VI., p. 288. London, 1683.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 289.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 290.

Church in *London*, and did quickly spread itself not only thro' the City, but in the Neighbouring Places; Sometimes at Paul's Cross there will be 6000 People Singing together. This was very grievous to the Papists."<sup>1</sup>

In morals and manners the age of Elizabeth is justly characterized by the extremes of a refined barbarism, and an overwrought civilization. Education was confined to the few; and too often it assumed the form of affectation or pedantry. Magnificence in action, speech and dress, ruled from the queen and cortier, down to the page and most menial servant. Silk, satin and velvet, gaudy in color, and enriched with gold, adorned both gentlemen and ladies. Servants in swords and bucklers, assumed the dignity of gentlemen. It was the artificial that was esteemed. Stateliness in form and appearance was everything. Extravagance was the rule and pride the ruler. The coarse in word and deed, by the authority of the refined, was made respectable. Language was racked for refined and far-fetched oaths, which in the mouths of both sexes, were considered elegant. But this mask was sometimes dropped, even by the queen, when "she rated great nobles as if they were school-boys; . . . she would break, now and then, into the gravest deliberations, to swear at her ministers like a fish wife."<sup>2</sup> Bear-bating was among their fashionable amusements; and the Sabbath was chosen as the fittest time for such exhibitions, to which crowds flocked to witness the savage scene. Fuller refers to a spectacle of this kind, "where multitudes were gathered, . . . when the scaffolding gave way, killing eight persons outright and bruising many others." Besides, it was considered a proper diversion for royal personages, even of the softer sex. "In the year 1554, while the princess Elizabeth resided at Hatfield-house, in Hertfordshire, under the custody of Sir Thomas Pope, she was visited by queen Mary. The next

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> Green's *Short Hist. of the Eng. People*, p. 376. New York, 1877.

morning, after mass, they were entertained with a grand exhibition of bear-bating, *with which their highnesses were right well content.*"<sup>1</sup> Besides bear-bating, "frayes and fights" between sword and buckler men were of common occurrence on Sundays and holidays. These quarrels were by appointment as well as by chance. "Sometimes, twenty, thirty and forty swords and bucklers, halfe against halfe," would be engaged; and although "they made great shew of much furie, and fought often, yet seldome any man was hurt. . . . In the winter season all the high streets were much annoyed and troubled with hourly frayes."<sup>2</sup> These "bragging fights" were common "untill the 20th year of Queen Elizabeth."<sup>3</sup>

For the most part the manners of Elizabeth's court were adopted by that of James I. Yet in many particulars there was an advance in public sentiment towards the close of her reign as to the character of the amusements and the time for indulging in them. The reform in Sabbath observance was most remarkable. "*The Lords Day*, especially in *Corporations* began to be precisely kept, people *becoming a Law* to themselves, forbearing such sports, as yet by statute permitted. . . . On this *day* the *stoutest fencer* laid down the *buckler*, the most skillful Archer *unbent his bow*; . . . some of them were ashamed of their former pleasures, like *children*, which grown bigger, *blushing* themselves out of their *rattles* and *whistles*. Others forbear them for fear of their Superiors, and many left them off out of a Politick Compliance, least otherwise they should be accounted licentious."<sup>4</sup> Public opinion, however, was much at variance upon the question of Sabbath observance, some embracing it as an ancient truth in accordance with Scripture and vital piety, while others straitly opposed it "as *galling men's necks with a jewish yolk*,

<sup>1</sup> Warton's *History of English Poetry*, II., 391. London, 1778.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson and Steven's *Shakespeare*, IX., note, p. 122. London, 1793.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, B. IX., p. 227. London, 1655.

*against the liberty of Christians.*"<sup>1</sup> About the year 1595 an able defense of the Christian Sabbath was put forth by Dr. Bound, who maintained that the commandment as found in the Decalogue was a moral commandment, and therefore perpetually binding.<sup>2</sup>

The progress of this and of other moral reforms during the time of Elizabeth, are traceable directly to the influence of the English Bible. Since 1526 the New Testament has been scattered broadcast among the people. And since 1535 and 1537, there has been no lack of the Holy Scriptures in the mother tongue. To the praise of Queen Elizabeth be it said, that during her reign the people were free to print, circulate and read the Bible as their consciences dictated. There was an edition of Cranmer's Bible, 1540, published during this reign, but the Genevan Bible was in the greatest demand. Numerous editions of the New Testament of the Genevan version, also of Tyndale's translation, were printed and put into circulation. In all this the people were satisfied, but the bishops were ill at ease. Very soon after the accession of Elizabeth they set themselves about the publishing a new version of the Bible. The result of this undertaking was the Bishops' Bible of 1568.

Matthew Parker, bishop of Canterbury, was the leader in this enterprise. Among his reasons for setting forth a new version was, that the copies of the Great Bible were so scarce that it was impossible to supply the churches; notwithstanding, a new edition of the Great Bible was published in 1562, also in 1566.<sup>3</sup> Another reason was that these Bibles were "very faultily printed." He might have added still another to the effect, that he hoped by putting forth a new version, to supersede the Genevan Bible, which was becoming more and more popular with the people, and which was most distasteful to the archbishop on account of its being the representative

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, B. IX., p. 228.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Anderson's *Annals of the Eng. Bible*, p. 461.

of Puritanism and Nonconformity. Though the archbishop was a scholar, a liberal patron of learning, and a man of unquestioned piety, yet he was so thoroughly attached to the queen's policy of reducing the under clergy to one way of thinking and acting, that he had little sympathy with any thing that stood in the way of conformity to the new ecclesiastical regulations.

Parker's plan for revising the Bible was the same as that attempted by Archbishop Cranmer, in which Parker was more successful, since the clergy are now in sympathy with the English Scriptures, as they were not in Cranmer's time. The initials of the several bishops to whom the different portions or books were allotted, were printed at the close of the distinctive portions assigned to each of them. These differ somewhat, and yet they agree substantially with the list inclosed in the archbishop's letter to Secretary Cecil, dated October 5, 1568. Besides these a Mr. Lawrence is often quoted as having to do with the revision of the New Testament of this Bible. He was an eminent Greek scholar, and doubtless was often consulted. Lawrence's strictures were upon the New Testament translation of the Great Bible. These he presented to the archbishop.<sup>1</sup> Many of his emendations were adopted in the second edition of the Bishops' Bible, published in 1572. Westcott places Lawrence among the New Testament revisers. "An examination," he says, "of a difficult passage of an Epistle will prove that the reviser who corrected it was not deficient in originality and vigorous scholarship."<sup>2</sup> In Parker's letter to Cecil, which contained the list of revisers, there were inclosed also the rules or directions to be followed by them, which were as follows:

"First, to follow the common English translation used in the churches, and not to recede from it, but where it varieth manifestly from the Hebrew or Greek original."

<sup>1</sup> Townley's *Biblical Literature*, III., 180. London, 1821.

<sup>2</sup> Westcott's *History of the Eng Bible*, p. 249.

- "Item—To use sections and divisions in the text as Pagnine in his translation useth, and for the verity of the Hebrew to follow the said Pagnine and Münster specially, and generally others learned in the tongues."
- "Item—To make no bitter notes upon any text, or yet to set down any determination in places of controversy."
- "Item—To note such chapters and places as contain matter of genealogies, or other such places, not edifying with some strike or note, that the reader may eschew them in his public reading."
- "Item—That all such words as sound in the old translation, to any offence of lightness or obscenity, be expressed with more convenient terms and phrases."<sup>1</sup>

In this work the Archbishop had the sympathy and co-operation of his bishops. Sandys wrote: "Your Grace should much benefit the Church, in hastening forward the Bible which you have in hand; those that we have be not only false printed but also give great offence to many by reason of the depravity in reading." Again he says: "According to your Grace's letter of instruction I have perused the book you sent me and with good diligence; having also in conference with some other considered of the same, in such sort, I trust, as your Grace will not mislike of. . . . In mine opinion your Grace shall do well to make the whole Bible to be diligently surveyed by some well learned before it be put to print."<sup>2</sup> In May, 1566, Bishop Cox wrote: "I trust your Grace is well forward with the Bible by this time. I perceive the greatest burden will lie upon your neck, touching care and travail. I would wish that such usual words as we English people be acquainted with might still remain in their form and sound, so far forth as the Hebrew will well bear; ink-horn terms to be avoided. The translation of the verbs in the Psalms to be used uniformly in one tense."<sup>3</sup> Letters written by the other bishops were in the same spirit. They promised to use diligence in revising the parts assigned to them. In November, 1566, Parker intimated his design to Cecil. He wrote: "I have distributed the Bible to divers men. I am desirous, if you could spare so much leisure either

<sup>1</sup> Parker's *Correspondence*, p. 336. As cited by Eadie's *Hist. Bible*, II., 70.

<sup>2</sup> Westcott's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

in morning or evening, we had one Epistle of St. Paul, St. Peter, or St. James perused by you, that ye may be one of the builders of this good work in Christ's Church."<sup>1</sup>

So far as Archbishop Parker was the prime mover in this work, the Bible is rightly designated as "Parker's Bible." Sometimes it is called "Queen Elizabeth's Bible," not from any part taken by her in furthering the enterprise, but simply on account of its being the only newly revised edition of the Bible done in England and issued during her reign. But the most significant name is that of "Bishops' Bible," so called from the active co-operation of the bishops in the work of revision. The work was begun in 1563-4, and was not completed till 1568. In presenting a bound copy to the queen, the archbishop wrote to Secretary Cecil, that his purpose was to offer the same in person, but ill health preventing, he begged the secretary to present the copy with his letter, in which he wrote: "Pleaseth it your highness to accept in good part the endeavour and diligence of some of us your chaplains, my brethren the bishops, with other certain learned men, in this new edition of the Bible. I trust by comparison of divers translations put forth in your realm, will appear as well the workmanship of the printer, as the circumspection of all such as have travailed in the recognition."<sup>2</sup> He calls attention to the fewness of the changes, also to the general faithfulness in the work of revision, and beseeches the queen that it may have her "gracious favour, licence and protection."<sup>3</sup> In the same letter to Cecil he urges him to see "that this edition might be licensed and only commended in public reading in churches, to draw to one uniformity, it were no great cost to the most parishes, and a relief to him for his great charges sustained."<sup>4</sup> The queen did not accede to the request of the archbishop. She gave no sort of sanction or license for the special issue of the Bishops' Bible. John Bodleigh had received a special license for printing the Genevan Bible, but such "gracious

<sup>1</sup> Eadie's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, II., 70.

<sup>3</sup> Eadie's *Eng. Bible*, II., 73, 74.

<sup>2</sup> In the sense of *revision*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.



favour" was refused Archbishop Parker. "Not till 1577 was an edition printed 'set forth by authoritie'—that is, not royal, only episcopal authority."<sup>1</sup> This royal refusal is all the more remarkable when we consider the motive of the archbishop in putting forth a version of the Bible that should commend itself as the one Bible to be exclusively used in the churches, and thus to draw "to one uniformity," which was the cherished idol of Queen Elizabeth.

The title-pages of this Bible are noticeable for their simplicity. A copy of the edition of 1575, before me, wants the title-page to the Old Testament, but has separate titles attached to the books of Joshua, the Psalms, and the Apocrypha, as well as to the New Testament. The title-page prefixed to the book of Joshua consists of an engraved architectural device or border, in the centre of which are the words: "The seconde part of the Bible containing these bookes following." The list comprises the books from Joshua to Job, inclusive. At the top of the page stands the date "1575," and at the bottom the words "God saue the Queen." The title-page to the Psalms has the same engraved border, the words in the center of which read: "The thirde parte of the Bible containing these Bookes." This list comprises all the books of the Bible from the book of Psalms to that of Malachi, inclusive. The title to the Apocrypha reads: "The volume of the bookes called the Apocrypha, conteynynge these bookes following." This list comprises all the books from the third of Esdras to the second of Maccabees, inclusive. The title to the New Testament has the same border as to the design, with these words in the center: "The newe Testament of our sauour Iesus Christe, Rom. I. I am not ashamed of the Gospell of Christe, bycause it is the power of God vnto saluation to all that beleeeue."

The Bishops' Bible went forth without a dedication; but it contained the prologue of Archbishop Cranmer and a preface by Archbishop Parker. In his preface Parker insists that the command, Search the Scriptures, "applies to every man,

<sup>1</sup> Fadie's *Eng. Bible*, II., 78.

woman, or child." And to rightly obey the command, "the Scriptures must be read with an humble spirit. . . . (and) continual prayer"; also with "purity of life," and with "perpetual perseverance." He also defends the Scriptures against "hatred of either any Porphyrian Philosopher or Rhetorician"; and specially against the "envy of the Romanists," who say "under subtil Pretences," that it is "a perilous matter to translate the Text of the Holy Scripture, and therefore it cannot be wel translated."<sup>1</sup> Remarking on his own version, he urges not to be "offended with the diversitie of Translators, nor with the ambiguity of Translations. Since of congruence, no Offence can justly be taken for this new labour, nothing prejudicing any other Man's Judgment by this doing; nor yet hereby professing this to be so absolute a Translation as that hereafter might follow no other that might see that which as yet was not understood."<sup>2</sup> He concludes with an exhortation: "Oft to call upon the Holy Spirit of God, our Heavenly Father, by the Mediation of our Lord and Saviour, with the words of the octonary Psalm of *David*,<sup>3</sup> . . . and to pray to Almighty God with that wise King Solomon in his very words Sapient, IX."<sup>4</sup>

Cranmer's Bible, 1540, was chosen as the basis of this revision. While it was the accepted version of the English Church, yet it was so inferior to the Genevan Bible that it was unacceptable to many who were prominent in the episcopal party. Complaints were made even before the issue of the Genevan Bible against Cranmer's version, although at the same time it was admitted that as a version it was "nearer the Hebrew than the translation usually ascribed to Jerome."<sup>5</sup> Parker's first

<sup>1</sup> *Preface*, as cited by Lewis' *Hist. Eng. Bible*, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> *Psalm CXIX*. Called the "octonary Psalm" from the fact that each of its twenty-two paragraphs which correspond to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, is made up of *eight verses*. It is noticeable also that the eight verses of each paragraph begin with the same Hebrew letter.

<sup>4</sup> *Ecclesiastes*, chap. ix.

<sup>5</sup> The words of Bishop Hooper written in 1554, as cited by Eadie's *Eng. Bible*, II., 66.

rule for the guidance of the revisers was: "To follow the common English translation used in the churches." This rule was specially carried out in revising the Old Testament. The following is inserted as an example in which the changes are slight, confining themselves to words and phrases :

- Gen. XLV. 1. Joseph could no longer refrayne before all thē that stood by him, wherfore he cryed, *Cause every man to auoyde.* Cranmer's Bible reads: *brynge furth all the men frō me.*
2. And he wept aloude, and the Egyptians, and the house of Pharao hearde. Cranmer's Bible reads: *so that the Egyptians, and the house of Pharao heard it.*
4. And Joseph sayde vnto his brethren, Come neare to me, *I praye you.* These words are not in Cranmer's Bible, 1540.
5. Now therefore be not greeued *herewith*, . . . for God dyd sende me before you, *to preserue life.* Cranmer's Bible has: *therewith*, . . . . and *to saue life.*
7. Wherfore God sent me before you, *to preserue you a posteritie* in the earthe. Cranmer's Bible reads: *to make prouision that ye might continue* in y<sup>e</sup> earth.
8. So nowe it was not *ye* that sente me hyther, but God, which hath made me a father *to* Pharao, and Lord of all his house. Cranmer's Bible has: *you*, and *unto*.
10. And thou shalte dwell in the lande of Gosen, "and *be a neyghboure vnto me.*" Cranmer's Bible has: and *be by me.*
11. And there will I *provide thee sustenance.* Cranmer's Bible has: And there wyll I *make prouision for thee.*
13. Therefore tell my father of all my *glory* in Egypt. Cranmer's Bible has: *honoure.*
16. And the *fame (therof) was heard in* Pharao's house. Cranmer's Bible reads: And the *tydynges came vnto* Pharao's house.
17. . . . This doe yee, lade youre beastes, and *goe (and) retourne* vnto the land of Chanaan. Cranmer's Bible reads: *get you hence* vnto the land of Canaan.
18. . . . and ye shall eate the fat of the lande. Cranmer has: *of the fat of the lande.*
19. . . . Thus do yee. Cranmer has: *this do yee.*

20. Also "regard not your stuffe, for the good of the land of Egypt is yours. Cranmer reads: *all the land of Egypt is yours.*
23. . . . laden with corne, *and* bread, and meate. Cranmer has: corne, bread and meate.
24. So sente he his brethren away, *and they departed*; and he sayde vnto them, See that ye fall *to no strife on* the way. Cranmer's Bible reads: So sente he his brethren away, *to departe*; . . . fall *not out by* the way.

The following extracts are here inserted as specimens of the translation of the Bishops' Bible, from a copy of the edition, 1575, which is a reprint of the second edition of 1572.

- Gen. XXII. 1. After these sayings, God did tempt Abraham, and sayde vnto him, Abraham! Which aunswered, Here I am.
2. And he sayd, Take thy sonne, thine only sonne Isahac, whome thou louest, and get thee vnto the land Moriah, and offer him there for a burnt offering, vppon one of the mountaynes whiche I will shewe thee.
  3. Then Abraham rose vp early in the morning, and saddled his Asse, and tooke two of his yong menne with him, and Isahac hys sonne, and cloue wood for the burnt offering, and rose vp, and got him to the place, which God had appointed him.
  4. The third day Abrahā lift vp his eyes, and sawe the place a farre of;
  5. And sayd vnto his yong men, Bide heere with the Asse, I and the ladde will goe yonder and woorship, and come agayne to you.
  6. And Abraham tooke the wood of the burnt offering, and layde it vppon Isahac hys sonne; but he himselfe tooke fire in his hand, and a knife, and they wente both of them togyther.
  7. Then spake Isahac vnto Abraham hys father, and sayde, My father. And he answered, Here am I, my sonne. He sayde, See, here is fire and wood; but where is the beast for burnt sacrifice?
  8. Abraham answered, My God wil prouide a beast for burnt sacrifice; and so they went both togyther.

9. And when they came to the place whyche God had shewed him, Abraham builde an altare ther, and dressed the wood, and bound Isahac his sonne, and layde him on the altare aboue vpon the wood.
10. And Abraham stretching foorth the hys hande, tooke the knife to haue killed hys sonne.
11. And the Angell of the Lorde called vnto him from heauen, saying, Abraham, Abraham. And he sayd, Here (*am*) I.
12. And he sayde, Lay not thy hand vpon the childe, neyther doe any thing vnto hym, for now I know that thou fearest God, and hast for my sake not spared (*yea*) thine only sonne.
13. And Abraham lifting vp his eyes, looked ; and beholde, behinde (*hym*) there was a Ramme caught by the hornes in a thicket ; and Abraham wēt and tooke the Ramme, and offered him vp for a burnt offering in the steede of his sonne.
14. And Abraham called the name of the place, The Lord wil see. As it is sayde thys daye, In the Mount will the Lorde be seene.
15. And the Angell of the Lorde cried vnto Abraham from heauen the second tyme,
16. And sayde, By my selfe haue I sworne, sayth the Lorde, bycause thou hast done this thing, and hast not spared (*yea*) thine only sonne.
17. That in blessing, I will blesse thee, and in multiplying, I will multiplie thy seede as the starres of heauen, and as the sande whiche is vpon the sea side, and thy seede shall possesse the gates of his enemies.
18. And in thy seede shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, bycause thou hast heard my voyce.
19. So tourned Abraham againe vnto hys young men ; and they rose vp, and went together to Beer-seba, and Abraham dwelt at Beer-seba.

- Psalm XXIII. 1. The Lorde is my sheapehearde ; therefore can I lacke nothing.
2. He shall feed me in a greene pasture ; and lead me forth besides the waters of comfort.
  3. Hee shall conuert my soule ; and bring mee forth in the pathes of righteousness, for hys names sake.

4. Yea thoughe I walke through the valley of the shadow of death, I will feare no euill ; for thou art with me, thy rodde and thy staffe comfort me.
5. Thou shalt prepare a Table before mee, agaynst them that trouble mee ; thou hast annoynted my heade with Oyle, and my cuppe shall be full.
6. But thy louing kindnesse and mercie shall follow me all the dayes of my life ; and I will dwell in the house of the Lorde foreuer.

The New Testament of the Bishops' Bible shows better scholarship and more careful work. But like the New Testament of the Great Bible and all previous revisions, it is largely a reproduction of Tyndale's translation. A careful comparison will show, however, that this revision made important verbal changes, some of which found their way into the Authorized version. In some instances the influence of the Genevan version is perceptible ; while in other cases, where marked improvements had been introduced in the Genevan, they were ignored by this version. For the sake of illustrations take a portion of the eighth chapter of Romans.

Rom. VIII. 15. For yee haue not receyued the spirite of bondage *agayne to feare* ; but ye haue receyued the spirite of adoption, whereby we crye, Abba, father. The Great Bible after Tyndale has : *to feare eny moare*.

16. The spirite it selfe beareth witnesse to our spirite, that we are the sonnes of God. This happy phrase is after the Genevan and was adopted by the Authorized version. Tyndale and the Great Bible read : *certifeth*.
17. If we be sonnes, then are we also heires, the heyres of God, and *ioint heyres* wyth Christ ; *so that we* suffer togeather, that wee may be also glorified togeather. *Joint heirs* is peculiar to the Bishops' and is followed by the Authorized version. Tyndale has : *anexed* with Christ ; and is followed by the Great Bible, also by the Genevan version. In the second clause however Tyndale reads : *If so be that we* suffer togedder ; and is followed by the Great Bible, also by the A. V.

18. For I *am certainly persuaded*, that the afflictions of this *time*, are not worthy of the glory which shall be shewed vpon vs. Tyndale reads: For I *suppose* that the afflictions of thys *lyfe*; and is followed by the Great Bible.
19. For the *earnest expectation* of the creature abydeeth, looking when the sonnes of God shall appeare. This is followed by the A. V. Tyndale has: *feruent desyre*; and is followed by the Great Bible.
20. Bycause the creature *is subject* to vanitie *not wylling*, but *for hym* whiche hath subdued the same in hope. The Great Bible has: *is subdued* to vanitie *against ye will therof*, but for *his will* which hath subdued y<sup>e</sup> same in hope.
21. For *the creature it selfe* shall be *made free* from the bondage of corruption. The Great Bible has: For *the same creature* shalbe *deliuered* from the bondage of corruption.
23. . . . and we our selues mourne in our selues, *wayting* for the adoption (euen) the deliuerance of our body. The Great Bible reads, . . . . . mourne in our selues *also*, and *waite* for the adoption (*of the children of God*) euen *for* the deliuerance of our bodye.
26. Likewise the spirite also helpeth our infirmities. For we knowe not what to desire as we ought; but the spirite it selfe maketh *great* intercession for vs, with gronings whiche can not be expressed. The Great Bible has: maketh intercession for vs.
29. For those whiche he knewe before, he also *dyd predestinate*, that they shoulde be lyke fashioned vnto the shape of his sonne. The Great Bible reads after Tyndale: *ordeined before*.
30. Moreover, whom he *did predestinate*, them also he called. The Great Bible has: whom he *appointed before*, them also he *hath* called.
32. Whiche spared not hys owne sonne, but gaue hym for vs all; howe *shall he not* with hym *also* gyue vs all things? This is after Tyndale, and is followed by the A. V. The Great Bible reads: how *can It be*, y<sup>t</sup> with him *he shoulde not* geue us all thinges *also*.
34. . . . yea rather which is *raysed* againe. The Great Bible has: . . . is *risen* againe.

35. Who shall separte vs from the loue of *Christ*? The Great Bible has : . . . the loue of *God*?
36. ( . . . and are counted as sheepe for the slaughter.) This is followed by the A. V.; but the Great Bible reads : . . . *appointed to be slayne*.
37. Neuerthelesse, in all these thynges *we ouercome*, through him that loued vs. This agrees with the Great Bible, and overlooks the Genevan N. T., 1557, which reads : *we are more than conquerors*.
39. Neyther height, nor *deapth*, neyther any other creature, shal be able to *seperate* vs from the loue of God, which is in Christe Jesus our Lorde. The Great Bible has : . . . neither *lowth* ; . . . *to departe*.

In the above collation from only a single chapter we have a number of happy renderings for which we are indebted in part to the Bishops' Bible, and in part to the versions of Geneva and of Tyndale. Several of these are worthy of being noted, since they were adopted by King James' revisers and have come down to us as an invaluable inheritance. For example the happy phrase : *beareth witness*, for which we are indebted to the Genevan Bible, and which is far better than the *certifieth*, of Tyndale. Again in the seventeenth verse we have ; *joint heyers*, which is better than Tyndale's *heyres anezed* ; and for which we are indebted to the Bishops' Bible. In verse nineteenth we have ; *earnest expectation*, which is an improvement upon the *feruent desyre* of Tyndale, and for which we are indebted to the Bishops' Bible. In verse twenty-first, we have : *the glorious libertie of the sonnes of God* ; for which we are indebted to Tyndale. For the phrase, *more than conquerors* ; we are indebted to the Genevan N. T. 1557.

For the sake of comparison with previous versions, the following specimens from the New Testament of the Bishops' version are here inserted.

Matt. VI. 9. After this maner therefore pray ye ; O our father which art in heauen halowed be thy name.

10. Let thy kingdome come. Thy wyll be done, as well in earth, as it is in heauen.



11. Giue vs this day our dayly breade.
  12. And forgyue vs our dettes, as we forgyue our detters.
  13. And leade vs not into temptation, but deliuer vs from euill; for thine is the kingdome, and the power, and the glorie, for euer. Amen.
- I. Cor. XIII.
1. Though I speake with the tongs of men and of angels, and haue not charitie, I am (*as*) sounding brasse, or (*as*) a tinckling Cymball.
  2. And though I haue prophesie, and vnderstand all secrets, and all knowledge; Yea, if I haue all fayth, so that I can remoue mountaynes, and haue not charitie, I am nothing.
  3. And though I bestowe all my goodes to feede the poore, and though I giue my body that I should be burned, and haue not charitie, it profiteth me nothing.
  4. Charitie suffereth long, and is curteous; Charitie enuieth not, charitie doth not frowardly, swelleth not,
  5. Dealeth not dishonestly, seeketh not hir owne, is not bitter, thinketh not euill,
  6. Reioyceth not in inquitie, but reioyceth in the truth;
  7. Suffereth al things, beleeueth al things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.
  8. Though that prophesying fayle, eyther tongs cease, or knowledge vanish away, (*yet*) charitie falleth neuer away.
  9. For our knowledge is vnperfecte, and our prophesying is vnperfect;
  10. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is vnperfect shall be doone away.
  11. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I vnderstoode as a childe, I imagined as a childe; but as soone as I was a man, I put away childishnesse.
  12. Nowe we see in a glasse, euen in a darke speaking; but then (*shall we see*) face to face. Now I know vnperfectly; but thē shall I know, euen as I am knowne.
  13. Now abydeth fayth, hope, and charitie, these three, but the chief of these is charitie.

The Bishops' Bible, like all other early English versions, did not adopt the fashionable speech of the time. The rule laid down by the archbishop, was that the plain words of the

Great Bible should be retained, excepting in cases where the original Hebrew or Greek demanded a change. This wise restriction was much needed in that age, for scarcely ever before in the history of the English tongue, was it so threatened with such an overwhelming tide of affectation and pedantry. Italy and Spain were corrupting the language as well as the manners of the English nation. Elegance and refinement were studied at the expense of sense and clearness. Language was used for the sake of sound and appearance, appealing to the fancy rather than to the understanding. "They played with words," says Taine, "twisted, put them out of shape, rejoiced in sudden views, strong contrasts, which they produced....in quick succession. They cast flower on flower, tinsel on tinsel;....and plumed their language like their garments. They cared nothing for clearness, order, common sense; it was a festival and a folly; absurdity pleased them."<sup>1</sup> This new-fangled English was not a little influential. But to the credit of the revisers of the Bishops' Bible, they put into it not a shred of this fashion either in cut or color. In avoiding this over refinement, they sometimes went to the opposite extreme of too great familiarity in the choice of words and phrases, which detract from the elevated tone befitting the language of the Holy Scriptures. As an illustration take the following examples collated from the book of Psalms.

Ps. III. 7. *Up* Lord, and help me, O my God. This is after the Great Bible, 1540; and ignores the Genevan Bible, 1560, which reads: *O Lord, arise; helpe me, my God.*

IX. 19. *Up* Lorde, and lette not man *haue the upper hande*. The Genevan version reads: . . . *let not man preuaile.*

X. 6. For he bath sayde in his harte, *tush*, I shall neuer be cast downe. This is after the Great Bible of 1540.

XXVIII. 8. . . . therefore my heart *daunceth* for joye.

XXXIII. 3. Sing vnto the Lorde a new song; sing prayes *lustily* (vnto him) with a *good courage*. The Genevan ver-

<sup>1</sup> *English Literature*, I., 162, 163. New York, 1874..

sion reads: . . . sing *cheerfully* with a loud *voyce*.

XL. 18. Let them bee desolate and rewarded wyth shame, that say vnto mee: *fie vpon thee, fie vpon thee*. The Genevan Bible reads: . . . which say vnto me *Aha, aha*.

XLII. 12. . . . while mine enimies (that trouble me) *cast me in the teeth*.

XLV. 5. *Good lucke haue thou with thine honour*. The Genevan Bible reads: And *prosper with thy glory*.

XLVII. 5. God is gone vp with a *mery noyse*. The Genevan version has: *with triumph*; and the A. V. reads: *with a shout*.

LIII. 1. The *foolishe bodie* hath sayde in his heart. This ignores the better reading of the Genevan Bible, which has: The *fool* hath said in his heart.

Besides the presence of these colloquial and commonplace terms, the text of the Bishops' Bible is weakened still more by the introduction of explanatory words and phrases; a seeming attempt to expound as well as translate the original text. These phrases are put into different type and thrown into brackets. In some cases they are taken from the Great Bible, while in others they belong originally to the Bishops' version. The following are inserted as examples:<sup>1</sup>

Is. I. 7. . . . and it is made desolate, as it were the destruction of enimies (*in the time of warre*).

31. And the very strong one (*of your idols*) shall be as towe, and the maker of it as a sparke (*of fire*).

II. 3. And a multitude of people shall goe, speaking (*thus one to another*) Come, let vs ascende to the hill of the Lorde.

9. . . . there falleth the man downe (*before them*), therefore forgiue them not.

19. . . . for feare of the Lorde, and for the glorie of his majestie, when he ariseth to destroy (*the wickid ones of*) the earth.

III. 9. . . . Yea, they declare their owne sinnes (*them selues*) as Sodome.

14. The Lorde shall enter into judgement with the elders and

<sup>1</sup> These texts are from a copy of the *Bishops' Bible*, 1575.

14. princes of his people, (*and shal say to them*) It is ye that haue burnt vp my vineyarde.
15. What meane ye that ye bray (*as in a morter*) my people, and grynde the faces of the poore, sayth the Lorde God of hostes?
18. . . . and the round tyres (*after the fashion of the moone*).
24. . . . and (*sunne*) burning for beautie.
25. . . . and thy valiant souldiours in the battaile (*O Ierusalem*).
- IV. 1. . . . to take our shamefull reprove (*from vs*).
- John I. 8. . . . but (*was sent*) to beare witnessse of the light. This is followed by the A. V.
9. That (*lyght*) was the true light.
14. . . . As the glorie of the only, begotten sonne (*that came*) from the father.
49. . . . Rabbi, thou arte euen the (*very*) sonne of God : thou art the king of Israell.
- VI. 27. . . . whiche (*meate*) the sonne of man shall giue vnto you.

Few examples, comparatively, of Latinisms are found in the Bishops' Bible, yet even these are inexcusable, since for the most part they had been discarded by the Genevan version. In the Psalms and Isaiah such words as the following occur : *comprehended, condemned, conveyed, credence, deuice, enformed, felicitie, governour, laude, Libanus, similitude*, which may be found in their several connections below.<sup>1</sup>

- Ps. VIII. 1. O Lorde our *gouernour*. The Genevan Bible reads : O Lord our *Lord*.
- XXI. 6. For thou shalt giue him euerlasting *felicitie*. The Genevan Bible reads : For thou hast set him as *blessings* for euer.
- XXXI. 13. . . . and they that did see mee without, *conueyed* themselues from me. The Genevan Bible has : . . . who seeing me in the street *fled* from me.
- CXXXV. 1. O prayse the Lorde, *laude* ye the name of the Lord. The Genevan Bible has : *Praise* the name of the Lorde.

<sup>1</sup> These texts are from a copy of the *Bishops' Bible*, 1575.

Is. XL. 16. *Libanus* is not sufficient to minister fyre to his offering.

The Genevan Bible has: *Lebanon*.

18. . . . or what *similitude* wil ye set vp to him?

21. . . . haue ye not bin *enfourned* of this by the foundation of the earth. The Genevan Bible reads:

. . . . haue ye not *vnderstood* it?

28. . . . and that his wisdome can not be *comprehended*. The Genevan Bible reads: . . . there is no *searching* of his vnderstanding.

LIII. 1. But who hathe giuen *credence* vnto our preaching? The Genevan Bible reads: Who *will beleue* our report?

9. His *graue* was giuen him with the *condemned*. The Genevan Bible reads: He made his *graue* with the *wicked*.

10. . . . and this *device* of the Lorde shall prosper in his hande. The Genevan Bible has: *will*.

The Bishops' Bible, however, has its share of obsolete words, such as *beesome*, broom; *flawe*, blast; *hucklebone*, hip bone; *knetcheth*, cutteth off the neck; *pillers*, extortioners; *preuented*, anticipated, or overtaken; *querne*, mill for grinding; *roome*, kingdom. All of which are given below.

Gen. XXXII. 25. . . . he smote hym upon the *hucklebone* of his thigh,

Is. XIV. 23. . . . and I will sweepe them out with the *beesome* of destruction. This word finds a place in the principal versions, from that of Coverdale, 1535, to that of King James, 1611; and though it is obsolete or obsolescent, yet it is too expressive a Saxon word to be given up.

XLVII. 2. Bring forth the *querne* and grynde meale.

LXVI. 3. . . . He that killeth a sheepe for mee, *knetcheth* a dogge.

John XI. 48. . . . and the Romanes shall come, and take away both our *roome*, and the people.

Acts XXVII. 14. . . . there arose against their purpose a *flawe* of winde out of the Northeast, which is called Euroclydon.

I. Cor. VI. 10. . . . Nor reuilers, nor *pillers*, shall inherite the kingdome of God.

Gal. VI. 1. Brethren if a man be *preuented* in anye fault.

Obscene words were by the rules laid down by the arch-

bishop, to be displaced "by more convenient terms and phrases." The *item* was not out of place, since in the Great Bible particularly, which this version followed, there were, to say the least, indelicacies in language which needed correction, such as I. Sam. vi. 4, 5. This was changed for the better by the Bishops revisers, and reads: . . . "They answered, Fyue golden Emerodes, and fyue golden Myse. . . . Wherefore ye shall make images like to your emerodes, and images like to your mise, that corrupt the lande. This reading is after the Genevan Bible, also after Coverdale's translation. Another example is that of I. Cor. vi. 9-10, which reads as improved in the Bishops' Bible; . . . Bee not deceiued; neither fornicatours, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of the selues with mankinde. . . . shall inherite the kingdome of God. This reading was adopted from Tyndale. In the same spirit and without the least show of prudishness, they might have revised such passages as I. Kings xiv. 10; xvi. 11; and others of the same character. The archbishop did not stop with single words and phrases, but directed that significant marks be introduced indicating whole chapters and parts of chapters to be omitted in the public reading of the Scriptures. The mark chosen was an inverted comma placed at the beginning of each line of the passage or chapter to be omitted. In Genesis, chapters x.; xi. 10-29; xxxvi. and xxxviii., were thus marked. In Exodus, page after page is thus indicated; and so throughout the historical portions of the Old Testament. For the most part these marked passages are made up of genealogical tables, as well as objectionable passages, which they supposed would not be edifying in the public reading of the Bible.

The marginal notes of this version are brief, and sometimes commonplace. A few examples from the New Testament will suffice.

Matt. VI. 34. "(b) That is, the present day hath ynough of his owne grieve or affliction."

Luke III. 2. "(a) By the law there shoulde haue bene but one high

priest only, but corruption of the time, by reason the Romanes had rule, and the bribery of Caiaphas, brought to passe that the office was divided."

John I. 12. "(c) Meaning priuiledge or dignitie." 39. "(b) That was about two houres before night."

XIX. 30. "(b) The mysterie of mans redemption, and saluation, is perfected by the only sacrifice of Christ, the promise to the fathers fulfilled, the ceremonies of the law ended."

Acts IV. 11. "(a) Christ is called the chiefe corner, or corner stone, bycause the Jewes and the Gentiles are joyned together, and builded vpon him by faith, and made one church." 12. "(b) Neyther sainte, nor angell, nor workes, nor ought els can saue, but Christe alone."

VII. 60. "(b) He praied for himselfe standing; but praying for his enimies, he kneeled down, mening thereby, first that theyr great iniquitie required a greater and more feruent praier; secondly, he declareth his mightie charitie, praying so earnestly for his enimies."

Rom. IV. 5. "(b) God is sayd to justifie the vngodly, bycause he pardoneth hys sinnes, and of a wicked man, maketh hym good."

VI. 2. "(a) He dyeth to sinne, in whom the strength of sinne is broken by the power of Christ." 3. "(b) That is, that sinne thorowe Christes death may be abolished and dye in vs; and that as we are made cleane outwardly wyth water in our baptisme, so inwardly our synnes may be washed away and cleansed by the bloud of Christe."

Gal. III. 27. "Some read, all ye that are baptised into Christ, haue put on Christ."

Eph. III. 10. "(b) The church being gathered of so many kyndes of people is an example or a glasse for the angels to beholde the wysdome of God in, who hath turned theyr particular discords, into an universal concord, and of the synagoge of bondage, hath made the Church of freedome."

Phil. I. 7. "(b) Of this peculiar benefite to suffer for Christes sake." 8. "(c) That is, from the very hart roote of Jesus Christ."

II. 12. "(a) Our health (salvation) hangeth not on our workes, and yet are they said to worke oute their helth, who do runne in the race of justice. For although we be saued freely in Christ by fayth, yet must we walk by the way of justice vnto our health."

I Thess. V. 6. "(b). Here sleepe is taken for contempt of saluation, when men continue in sinnes, and wil not awake to godlynesse."

II Thess. III. 15. "(c) The ende of excommunication, is not to dryue from the Churche such as haue fallen but to winne them to the Churche by amendment." <sup>1</sup>

The Bishops' Bible, with all its excellencies, failed to meet in its reception the high expectation of its friends. No means were left untried to secure for it a wide circulation. Parker showed his anxiety on this point when he sought through Cecil to induce Queen Elizabeth to authorize this version as the only Bible to be read in the churches. This the queen did not do; consequently the next step on the part of the archbishop was, in the visitation of 1569, to inquire of the Church-wardens "*whether they had in their Parish-Churches, the Bible in the largest Volume.*" Parker's design in this was to learn what churches were unprovided with Bibles, and to supply them with his own version. So in the convocation of April 3, 1571, it was ordered: "That the Church-wardens should see, that the Holy Bible be in every Church in the largest Volume (if it might conveniently be) such as were lately imprinted at *London.*" <sup>2</sup> It was ordered also that "every Archbishop, and Bishop, every Deane and chiefe Residentiary, and every Archdeacon, should have one of these Bibles in their Cathedrals and Families." <sup>3</sup> These officials, however, were slow to obey the order, since, according to Lewis, there were many churches, even in the archbishop's own diocese, which continued to be without Bibles. <sup>4</sup> In 1587, some sixteen years afterward, Archbishop Whitgift wrote that he was

<sup>1</sup> Collated from a copy of *Bishops' Bible* dated 1575.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis' *Hist. of Eng. Translations of the Bible*, p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Ibid.*, p. 259.



informed that parish churches as well as chapels were not furnished with Bibles, and if any were, the books were "torn and defaced, and yet not of the translation authorized by the synods of bishops."<sup>1</sup> He insisted, therefore, "that all and every the said churches and chapels....be provided of one Bible or more....of the translation allowed as aforesaid.... and for the performance thereof I have caused her highness' printer to imprint two volumes of the said translation of the Bible aforesaid, a bigger and a less....both of which are now extant and ready."<sup>2</sup>

All that episcopal authority could do, was done to secure the circulation of this Bible. The design was to supersede the Genevan version; and though several editions of the Bishops' Bible were issued, yet in popularity and extended circulation it fell far short of its rival. From 1587 to 1589 but two editions of the Bishops' Bible were published, while during the same period there were issued at least seven editions of the Genevan Bible. After the year 1606 there was no edition of the Bishops' Bible printed, excepting that several editions of the New Testament of this version were published after this date; but editions of the Genevan Bible were printed as late as 1644.

A noticeable fact is that the Bishops' Bible, by order of James I., was made, in the work of revision, the basis of our present so-called Authorized version. While other versions were consulted and had their influence, the Bishops' Bible enjoys the pre-eminence of being the authorized link connecting King James' Bible with previous English versions. To the honor also of this Bible be it said, that it shared with the Genevan and with Cranmer's Bible the hatred of the Catholic party. Martin, the able champion of Rome, rallied the Protestants on the unreliability of their translations. After referring as an example to the different readings of the middle clause of Eph. v., 5, he says: "*Loe, this is the English Bible, which they referre vs vnto.... Where shall we haue these good fellowes: and how shall wee be sure that they will*

<sup>1</sup> Westcott's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 105.

stand to any of their translations? from the first read in their Churches, they flee to that that is now read, and from this againe, to the later Geneva English Bibles, neither read in their Churches (as we suppose) nor of the greatest authoritie among them; and wee doubt not but they will as fast flee from this, to the former againe, when this shall be proued in some places more false and absurd, than the other."<sup>1</sup> To this Dr. Fulke replies: "In the place by you quoted, I defend both as true, and answerable to the Greek, and of one sense and meaning, where the sound of words onely, is diuerse, the signification of matter, one, and the same."<sup>2</sup> As a specific example of "heretical subtiltie," Martin cited Matt. xvi. 18, which reads: And say also vnto thee, that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I wil builde my congregation.<sup>3</sup> The Genevan version translates: I will build my *Church*. Fulke's defense here is somewhat lame. He suggests as an answer, that to the translators of the Bishops' Bible the words *Congregation* and *Church* meant the same thing. True, but the more probable view is that the word *Church* had been so monopolized and abused by the papists, that the revisers of the Bishops' Bible hesitated to use it. The Genevan translators, however, labored under no such restraint. The reformed party, at home and abroad, regarded the Catholic Church as anti-Christ, and consequently their claim of being the only true Church as presumptuous. Hence, in their translation they could use the word *Church*, which would carry no doubtful meaning to their people.

During the revising of the Bishops' Bible, there was one man, the venerable Myles Coverdale, who must have been deeply interested in the work; and yet so far as the records go he had no share in it. His advanced age is a sufficient reason for this, since now, 1568, he is full eighty years of age, and is drawing very near to the end of his pilgrimage. Since 1535 he has had to do with almost every important revision of

<sup>1</sup> Fulke's *Defense of English Translations of the Bible*, p. 41. London, 1617.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 57.

the English Scriptures. He was an intimate friend of both Cromwell and Cranmer, and enjoyed their confidence till the last. In his long life he witnessed great changes both in Church and State. His life spanned the reigns of four English sovereigns, which constitute epochs most important and interesting in the history of Protestantism and the English Bible. From the beginning of his career Coverdale was a disciple of the New learning. He was, however, always charitably inclined towards those of the Old learning. Though increasing in age he kept abreast with the progress of the Reformation. He was among the Genevan exiles during the fearful reign of Mary. Under Queen Elizabeth he was a Non-conformist. A father among the Elizabethan bishops, he was sadly neglected, and yet was not without his honors. In December, 1559, he was called to assist in the consecration of Archbishop Parker. In 1563, he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the University of Cambridge;<sup>1</sup> although already a bearer of this honor as conferred by the University of Tübingen. Through the agency of Bishop Grindal he received the rectorship of St. Magnus, near London Bridge; but this he resigned in 1566. He continued, however, to preach, and the people continued to throng together to hear him. Myles Coverdale stood first, in his day, among the preachers of the word. He stands second only to William Tyndale as a translator. While he was employed frequently in the discharge of important public duties both in Church and State, yet his life work was that of a translator and reviser of the Holy Scriptures. Eminent alike for piety and learning, he died in February, 1569, at the advanced age of eighty-one years. Upon the monument erected to his memory, in the parish of St. Magnus, in 1837, were inscribed these words from Is. lii. 7. **HOW BEAUTIFUL ARE THE FEET OF THEM THAT PREACH THE GOSPEL OF PEACE, AND BRING GLAD TIDINGS OF GOOD THINGS.**

<sup>1</sup> Coverdale's *Memorials*, p. 179.

## CHAPTER IX.

THE RHEIMS NEW TESTAMENT, A. D. 1582, AND DOUAY BIBLE, A. D. 1609.

FOR two hundred years the papacy has manifested an unchangeable spirit of hatred towards the English Bible. What therefore could have been the motive, at this time, of these translators in putting forth the Scriptures in English? The answer to this otherwise difficult question is found in the preface to the Rheims New Testament, in which they frankly say: that it is not from an "erroneous opinion of necessity, that the holy Scriptures should alwayes be in our mother tongue, or that they ought, or were ordained by God, to be read indifferently of all, or could be easily vnderstood of euery one that readeth or heareth them in a knowne language; or that they were not often through mans malice or infirmitie, pernicious and much hurtfull to many; or that we generally or absolutely deemed it more conuenient in itselfe, and more agreeable to God's word and honor, or edification of the faith, to haue them turned into vulgar tongues, then to be kept and studied only in the Ecclesiasticall learned languages; Not for these or any such like causes doe we translate this sacred booke, but upon speciall consideration of the present time, state, and condition of our Countrey vnto which, diuerse things are either necessarie, or profitable and medicinable, now, that otherwise in the peace of the Church were neither much requisite, nor perchance wholly tollerable."<sup>1</sup> From this open confession, it seems that this version grew out of the necessity of the times. That it was a war measure, resolved upon in self-defense. By episcopal authority of the

<sup>1</sup> *Preface. Rheims N. T., p. 2. Fulke's Reprint. London, 1617.*

Church of England, the Bible is now placed in the churches; and by the desire of the people it is welcomed in the family circle and individual closet. Yea the word of God is entrenched in the hearts of the people; and to drive it out old methods must be laid aside and new methods adopted. Having learned by observation at least, the power of the English Bible, the papists would resort to the same weapon to defend themselves, and if possible to inflict a deadly blow upon their foes. English Catholics were reading heretical Bibles, which the hierarchy denounced as "prophane translations." To remedy this the Rheims version was published with the expressed hope that it would prove the occasion of these Catholics putting away the "impure versions as hitherto you haue beene forced to occupie."<sup>1</sup> Besides Rome was hopeful, and indefatigable in her efforts to win back England to the papal fold. And prominent among the means to be used were: the founding of the English Seminary at Douay for educating English priests, and the publishing this Romish Bible with its obscure text and papistical notes.

The chief laborers in this enterprise were certain professors in the College at Douay. Prominent among them was Gregory Martin, who was doubtless the principal translator. Martin was an Englishman by birth, and enjoyed a high reputation as a Hebrew and Greek scholar. Having embraced the Catholic faith, he came to the College of Douay in 1570, and was ordained as a priest in 1573, and a licentiate in divinity in 1575. After visiting Rome he returned to Douay and taught Hebrew, and also read lectures in divinity. In 1578 the College was transferred temporarily to Rheims; here he completed and published his translation of the New Testament, known as the Rheims version.<sup>2</sup> In this work he associated with himself others of the College faculty, among whom was William Alan, one of the founders of the Rheims Seminary. For his ability as a writer, and his supreme de-

<sup>1</sup> *Preface. Rheims N. T.*, p. 16. Fulke's *R-print*.

<sup>2</sup> Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary*, Art. *Martin (Gregory)*.

votion to Rome in defending her interests, Bishop Alan was raised to the rank of cardinal. It was he "of whom," says Fuller, "Pope Gregory 13th said, in addressing his Cardinals; '*Come my brethren, and I will shew you a man, in England born, to whom all Europe may give place for his high prudence, reverende countenance and purport of Government.*'" Richard Bristow was also of this party. He was a priest, and eminent for his eloquence and learning. By invitation of Alan, he came to Douay, lectured in divinity, and in the absence of Alan acted as regent of the University. The annotations of the Rheims New Testament are attributed to him.<sup>1</sup> The names of J. Reynolds and Thomas Worthington are likewise connected with the enterprise, the latter of whom is said to have been the author of the notes to the Old Testament. It is not known what share these persons took in the work, but the probability is that, at least, they aided Martin in revising his translation.<sup>2</sup>

The priority of the Rheims New Testament as to date, consists not in its having been first translated, but first printed. From the preface we learn, that when the New Testament was published, the whole Bible had been "long since translated." The Old Testament had been set aside for lack of means to publish it, and the preference given to the New Testament as "the principall, most profitable, and comfortable piece of holy Writ."<sup>3</sup> The title-page gives a full description of the work, and reads: "The New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected Copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke and other Editions in divers Languages; With Arguments of bookes and chapters, Annotations, and other necessarie helpes, for the better understanding of the Text, and specially for the discoverie of the Corruptions of divers late translations, and for clering Controversies in Religion of these daies. In the English College at

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary*, Art. *Bristow* (Richard).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Westcott's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> Rheims *N. T. Preface*, p. 1, Fulke's Ed. London, 1617.

Rhemes. .... Printed at Rhemes by John Fogny 1582. *Cum Privilegio.*"

The preface of the Rheims New Testament is a shrewd document. Its design was to vindicate "the wisdom and moderation of holy Church," both in withholding and permitting the Vernacular Scriptures. After stating the occasion of putting forth the translation, as noted above, the author sets forth, at length, the policy of the papacy in its past history in respect to the Scriptures, smoothing the rough places, but asserting at the last, the doctrine of Trent, "that the holy Scriptures, though truly & Catholically translated into vulgar tongues, yet may not be indifferently read of all men, nor of any other then such as haue expresse licence thereunto of their lawful Ordinaries; with good testimonie from their Curats, or Confessors. .... Which prescript, though in these daies of ours it cannot be so precisely obserued, as in other times and places, where there is more due respect of the Churches authoritie, rule, and discipline; yet we trust all wise and godly persons will vse the matter in the meane while with such moderation, meeknesse, and subjection of heart, as the handling, of so sacred a Booke, the sincere senses of Gods truth therein, and the holy Canons, Councils, Reason and Religion, doe require."<sup>1</sup> In the same connection it is added, that while "the Gouvernours of the Church.... haue taken more exact order both for the Readers and Translators of these later ages, then of old; yet we must not imagine, that in the Primitiue Church, either euerie one that understood the learned Tongues, .... might without reprehension reade, reason, dispute, turne and tesse the Scriptures; or that our fore-fathers suffered euerie Schoole-master, Scholler or Grammarian, that had a little Greeke or Latine, straight to take in hand the holy Testament: or that the translated Bibles into the vulgar Tongues, were in the hands of euerie Husbandmen, Artificer, Prentice, Boyes, Girls, Mistresse, Maid, Man; that they were

<sup>1</sup> Rheims N. T. *Preface*, p. 5, Fulke's Ed. London, 1617.

sung, played, alledged, of euery Tinker, Tauerner, Rimer, Minstrell; that they were for Table talke, for Ale-benches, for Boats and Barges, and for euery prophane person and companie. No, in those better times men were neither so ill, nor so curious of themselves so to abuse the blessed Booke of Christ; neither was there any such easie means, before printing was inuented to disperse the copies into the hands of euery man, as now there is."<sup>1</sup> In refuting the above statement in respect to the primitive Church, Fulke quotes the testimony of the Fathers that the Scriptures were read, and the reading listened to by all men; and that "the Husbandman, the Ploughman, the Shepheard, the Reaper, the Vine-dresser, did sing the Psalmes of Dauid." And further according to Chrysostom, "the knowledge of the Scripture is most necessarie for children, . . . and exhorteth their parents to cause them from their tender yeres to be exercised in the reading of the holie Scriptures."<sup>2</sup>

The preface gives several reasons for translating from the Latin Vulgate. Among them it emphasizes the great antiquity of the Vulgate, "that it was used in the Church of God about 1300 yeeres ago"; also its general use during all these ages in the "Churches seruice."<sup>3</sup> But the most important reason urged is that "The holy Councel of Trent . . . hath declared and defined this onely of all other Latine translations, to be authentically, and so onely to bee vsed and taken in publike lessons, disputations, preachings, and expositions, and that no man presume vpon any pretence to reject or refuse the same."<sup>4</sup> Lastly, the preface gives the manner followed in the work of translation. And while it would be unjust to call in question their motives, and repeat the charge that they intentionally obscured the translation, yet this was the practical result. But let us hear them in their own defence. "IN THIS OVR TRANSLATION, because we wish to be

<sup>1</sup> Rheims *N. T. Preface*, p. 5. Fulke's ed. London, 1617.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Fulke calls this in question. See *Ibid.*, p. 20, *Answer* 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22. See *Answers* 29 and 30.



most sincere, as becometh a Catholike translation, and haue endeauoured so to make it; we are very precise and religious in following our copie, the old vulgar approued Latine; not onely in sense, which we hope wee alwaies do, but sometime in the very words also and phrases, which may seeme to the vulgar Reader, and to common English eares not yet acquainted therewith, rudenes or ignorance; but to the discret Reader, ....wee doubt not but our consideration and doing therein shall seeme reasonable and necessarie: yea, and that all sorts of Catholike Readers will in short time thinke that familiar, which at the first may seeme strange, and will esteeme it more, when they shall otherwise be taught to vnderstand it, then if it were the common knowne English.”<sup>1</sup> They say further: “We presume not in hard places, to mollifie the speeches or phrases, but religiously keepe them word for word, and point for point, for feare of missing, or restrayning the sense of the Holy Ghost to our fantasie.....And why should we be squamish at new words or phrases in the Scripture, which are necessarie; when we doe easily admit and follow new words coyned in court and in courtly and other secular writings.”<sup>2</sup>

A single glance into an early copy of the Rheims version will show that they were not *squamish* in the use of new words and Latinized phrases. This method of rendering, or rather of obscuring, the Scriptures in English, was not altogether new, since it had been the favorite scheme of Bishop Gardiner in the reign of Henry VIII. When the bishop found that he could not prevent the publication of the Bible in English, he sought to have it put forth in a Latin dress. And doubtless he would have succeeded had it not been for the presence and power of Archbishop Cranmer. Gardiner expressed the same religious regard for the sacredness of the Latin language, and submitted a list of over a hundred Latin words, which “for the majesty of the matter in them con-

<sup>1</sup> Rheims *N. T. Preface*, p. 37. Fulke's ed. London, 1617.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 39.

tained," he strongly desired to have retained in their original form.<sup>1</sup> In the same spirit, Martin and his colaborers introduced a large number of untranslated words from the Vulgate, which sadly mar their translation. Take the following as examples, some of which are as curious as they are remarkable.<sup>2</sup>

- Matt. X. 8. . . . . *gratis* you haue receiued, *gratis* giue yee.
- XXVI. 17. And the first day of the *Azymes* the Disciples came to IESVS, saying, where wilt thou that wee prepare for thee to eate the *Pasche*.
- XXVII. 62. And the next day, which is after the *Parascue*.
- John V. 2. And there is at Hierusalem vpon *Probatice* a pond which in Hebrew is surnamed Bethsaida hauing fiue porches.
- XIV. 16. And I wil aske the Father, and he wil giue you another *Paraclete*.
- Rom. II. 23. That doest glorie in the law, thou by *preuarication* of the law, doest dishonor God.
- VIII. 18. For I thinke that the *passions* of this time are not *condigne* to the glorie to come, that shall be reuealed in vs.
- I Cor. II. 10. . . . . For the Spirit searcheth al things, yea the *profundities* of God.
- II Cor. VI. 6. In chastitie, in knowledge, in *longanimitie*.
- VIII. 19. . . . . but also he was ordeined of the Churches fellow of our *peregrination*.
- Gal. V. 21. Enuies, murders, *ebrieties*, *commessations*.
- Eph. III. 15. Of whom all *paternitie* in the heauens and in earth is named.
- IV. 30. And *contristate* not the holy Spirit of God.
- Phil. II. 7. But he *exinanited* himselfe, taking the forme of a seruant.
- I. Tim. III. 6. Not a *neophyte*: lest puffed into pride, he fall into the judgement of the deuill.
- Phile. 6. That the communication of the faith may be made euident in the *agnition* of all good that is in you in Christ IESVS.

<sup>1</sup> Compare above pages, 219-220.

<sup>2</sup> This collation is made from the first edition of Rheims *N. T.* Fulke's *Reprint*. London, 1617.

Heb. IV. 9. Therefore there is left a *sabbatisme* for the people of God.

IX. 3. But after the second veile, the Tabernacle, which is called *Sancta Sanctorum*.

II. Pet. II. 20. For if fleeing from the *coinquinations* of the world in the knowledge of our Lord and Sauour JESVS Christ.

The introduction of such words justifies the remark of Fuller that the Rheims version was "a *Translation*, which needeth to be *translated*, neither good Greek, Latine, or English, as every where bespeckled with hard words (pretended not renderable in English without abatement of some expressiveness) which transcend common capacities."<sup>1</sup> The force of this remark will further appear from the following collation of dark phrases which are profusely scattered throughout the whole version.<sup>2</sup>

Rom. XIV. 1. And him that is weake in faith, take vnto you; *not in disputations of cogitations*.

I. Cor. X. 16. The *chalice of benediction*, which we do blesse.

Eph. II. 19. . . . but you are the citizens of the saints and the *domesticals of God*.

III. 6. The Gentile to be coheires and *concorporat and com-participant* of his promise in Christ JESVS by the Gospell.

9. And to *illuminate* al men what is the *dispensatiō of the sacrament* hidden from the worldes in God, who created al things;

10. That the manifold wisdom of God may bee *notified* to the Princes and *Potestats in the celestials* of the Church.

11. According to the *prefinitio of worldes*, which he made in Christ JESVS our Lord.

VI. 12. . . . against the *rectors* of the world of this darkenes, against the *spirituals of wickednes in the celestials*.

<sup>1</sup> *Church History of Britain*, IX., 171.

<sup>2</sup> This collation is made from the first edition of the Rheims N. T. Published by John Fogny, 1582. See copy in Boston Public Library.

- Phil. III. 14. I *pursue* to the marke, to the price of the *supernal vocation* of God in Christ JESVS.
21. Who will reforme the bodie of our humilitie, *configured* to the bodie of his glorie.
- I. Tim. III. 16. And manifestly it is a great *sacrament of pietie*.
- VI. 20. O Timothee, keepe the *depositum*, *auoiding* the *prophane nouelties of voices*, and oppositions of falsely called knowledge.
- Heb. III. 13. . . . . that none of you be *obdurate with the fallacie of sinne*.
15. . . . . doe not *obdurate* your hearts as in that *exacerbation*.
19. . . . . because of *incredulitie*.
- IX. 23. It is necessarie therefore that the *exampers of the celestials*, be cleansed with these, but the *celestials* also themselves with better *hostes* then these.
- XIII. 16. And *beneficence* and *communication* do not forget, for with *such hostes* God is *promerited*.

The following specimens from the Rheims New Testament are here inserted for the sake of comparison with early English versions.<sup>1</sup>

- Matt. VI. 9. Thus therefore shal you pray. OUR FATHER *which art in heauen, sanctified* be thy name.
10. *Let thy kingdom come, Thy wil be done, as in heauen, in earth also.*
11. *Giue vs to day, our supersubstantiall bread.*
12. *And forgiue vs our dettes, as we also forgiue our detters.*
13. *And leade vs not into tentation, But deliuer vs from euil. Amen.*
- I. Cor. XIII. 1. If I speake with the tonges of men and of Angels, and haue not charitie; I am become as sounding brasse, or a tinkling cymball.
2. And if I should haue prophecie, and knew al mysteries, and al knowledge; and if I should haue al faith, so that I could remoue mountaines, and haue not charitie, I am nothing.
3. And if I should distribute al my goods to be meate for the poore, and if I should deliuer my body so

<sup>1</sup> The Rheims *New Testament*. See copy in Boston Public Library. The italics of the Lord's prayer belong to the original translation.

- that I burne, and haue not charitie, it doth profit me nothing.
4. Charitie is patient, is benigne ; Charitie enuieth not, dealeth not peruersly ; is not puffed up,
  5. Is not ambitious, seeketh not her owne, is not provoked to anger, thinketh not euil :
  6. Reioyceth not vpon iniquitie, but reioyceth with the truth ;
  7. Suffereth al things, beleueth al things, hopeth al things, beareth al things.
  8. Charitie neuer falleth away : whether prophecies shal be made voide or tonges shal cease, or knowledge shal be destroyed.
  9. For in part wee know, and in part wee prophecie.
  10. But when that shal come that is perfect, that shal be made voide that is in part.
  11. When I was a litle one, I spake as a litle one, I understood as a litle one, I thought as a litle one. But when I was made a man, I did away the things that belonged to a litle one.
  12. We see now by a glasse in a darke sort ; but then face to face. Now I know in part ; but then I shal know as also I am knowen.
  13. And now there remaine faith, hope, charitie, these three, but the greater of these is charitie.

In the choice of words, the pages of the Rheims version bear the impress of the fashion of the times, in its rage for fantastic terms and strange words with their hidden meanings. In this it differs widely from preceding English versions, which sought to retain words that were understood by the people, and thereby gave prominence to the Saxon element in Bible English. But these translators claimed the same right to invent and employ new words for the Scriptures, as others who coined and introduced them "in courtly and other secular writings." In the Rheims version, therefore, we have not only untranslated words, Latinized terms, and dark phrases, but a large class of Latin derivatives, which were already a substantial addition to the English tongue. A class of words that were in place in the diction of Bacon or even Shakespeare and Spenser, but out of place in the

phraseology of the Holy Scriptures. To this class belong such words as: *accessible*, *benigne*, *congratulate*, *consummate*, *cogitations*, *contemn*, *co-operate*, *detriment*, *invocule*, *immaculat*, *immolated*, *palpable*, *participate*, *pension*, *replenished*, *reprehension*, which are given below in their several connections.

Matt. XV. 19. For from the hart come forth euil *cogitations*.

John XVII. 23. I in them, and thou in mee; that they may bee *consummate* in one.

Rom. VIII. 28. And we know that to them that loue God, al things *co-operate* vnto good to such as according to purpose are called to bee saints.

I. Cor. I. 2. To the Church of God that is at Corinth. . . . with all that *inuocate* the name of our Lord IESVS Christ.

III. 15. If any mans worke burne, he shal suffer *detriment*.

IX. 13. . . . and they that serue the altar, *participate* with the altar?

XI. 22. Why, haue you not houses to eate and drinke in? or *contemne* ye the Church of God.

XIII. 4. Charitie is patient is *benigne*.

Eph. I. 4. . . . that we should be holy and *immaculat* in his sight in charitie.

Phil. I. 11. *Replenished* with the fruite of justice by IESVS Christ, vnto the glory and praise of God.

II. 15. . . . without *reprehension* in the middes of a crooked and peruerse generation.

17. But and if I be *immolated* vpon the sacrifice and seruice of your faith, I reioyce and *congratulate* with you al.

26. . . . and was *pensiu*e, for that you had heard that he was sicke.

Heb. XII. 18. For you are not come to a *palpable* mount, and an *accessible* fire.

The Rheims version enjoys the reputation of having fixed a desirable class of words in the English language. Many of these were adopted by King James' revisers, and thus not only the vocabulary of the accepted English Scriptures was influenced, but also the speech of the common people. Possibly this influence has been overrated, but there is evidence

enough to show that in the matter of words, this version has claims, as well as previous English versions, which ought to be recognized. The following list comprises a few of the words claimed to have been introduced first, into the Rheims version: *advent, advocate, approvest, charges, discerning, divine, impenitent, remission, revealed, seperated, unction*. This list might be greatly enlarged, but even some of these instead of being peculiar to the Rheims, upon examination, are found to have been used in some previous version, as indicated below.

- Rom. I. 1. Paul . . . called to be an Apostle, *seperated* into the Gospel of God. This word is peculiar to the Rheims, which is followed by the Authorized version.
- II. 5. But according to thy hardnes and *impenitent* heart. This word was used by Coverdale *in loco*, fifty years before the Rheims translation was made. Wycliffe reads: *unrepentaunte*.
18. And knowest his wil, and *approuest* the more profitable things. And yet Wycliffe has *preuest, in loco*, and Tyndale, together with the Genevan version, 1557, has *approved* in Acts ii. 22. But the Rheims ought to have the credit for introducing this word, since, for the want of it, previous versions used in its stead such words as: *triest, allow, accept, discern, and laudable*.
- III. 25. . . . to the shewing of his justice for the *remission* of former sinnes. This word is found in Wycliffe, *in loco*. Tyndale reads: *forgeveth* the synnes that are passed, and is followed by the Genevan version.
- VIII. 18. . . . that shal be *revealed* in vs. This word is found in two instances at least in the Genevan N. T. 1557; but earlier versions use in its stead such words as: *opened, declared, disclosed, shewed, uttered, an answer was given, and revelation*.
- I. Cor. IX. 7. Who euer plaieth the souldiar at his owne *charges*. This word is peculiar to the Rheims, and occurs but twice in the N. T. of the A. V.
- XI. 29. . . . not *discerning* the body of our Lord. Previous versions read: *making no difference*; but Tomson's version, 1576, has: *discerneth*.

- I. Thess. IV. 15. . . . . that we which live, which are remaining in the *aduent* of our Lord. This word is peculiar to the Rheims version. Previous versions read : *comminge* of the Lord. The word is not found in the A. V.
- II. Pet. I. 3. As all things of his *diuine* power. This word has been specially claimed as peculiar to the Rheims ; but it is found at least in Tomson's Genevan version, 1576. Other previous versions, however, read : *godly* nature.
- I. John II. 1. . . . . we haue an *aduocate* with the Father IESVS Christ the iust. This word is common to all previous versions, including Wycliffe's translation.
20. But you haue the *unction* from the Holy one, and know all things. This word is peculiar to the Rheims, and is followed by the Authorized version.

In striking contrast with the general reputation of the Rheims version, it deals in Saxonisms as well as Latinisms ; showing that its translators were not altogether out of sympathy with their mother tongue. Some of these phrases were adopted by King James' translators, such as : *puffed up, seeketh such, put out, if by any means, not bridling, upbraideth not* ; while others equally expressive, were passed over, such as : *workmen, stagger not, keeping a sturre, thratled him, headlong*, as found below.

- Matt. IX. 23. . . . . and saw minstrels and the multitude *keeping a sturre*.
- XVIII. 28. . . . . and laying hands vpon him *thratled him*.
- XX. 1. . . . . to hire *workmen* into his vineyard. The A. V. has : *labourers*.
- XXI. 21. . . . . if you shal haue faith and *stagger not*. The A. V. has : *doubt not*.
- Luke VIII. 33. . . . . The heard with violence went *headlong* into the lake, and was stifled. The Genevan version, 1557, also reads : *headlong*.
- John IV. 23. . . . . for the Father also *seeketh such* to adore him. So the A. V. and both after the Wycliffe version.
- IX. 22. . . . . he should be *put out* of the Synagogue. This is followed by the A. V. Previous versions



- John IV. 23. read: *excommunicate* out. The Wycliffite versions, however, read: *be don out*, which is an obsolete phrase for *put out*.
- I. Cor. IV. 6. . . . one not to be *puffed up* against another. This is not peculiar to the Rheims version, since it is found in Coverdale's translation, *in loco*.
- James I. 5. . . . let him ask of God who giveth to al men abundantly, and *upbraideth not*. This happy phrase is not original with the Rheims, since it is found in the Wycliffite versions. Tyndale reads: *casteth no man in the teth*, and is followed by Coverdale's, Cranmer's, Genevan and the Bishops' version. Tomson's version, 1567, reads: *reproacheth*.
26. . . . not *bridling his tong*. Preceding versions read: *refrayne not his tonge*. The A. V. improves upon the Rheims by reading: *bridleth not his tongue*.

Dr. Fulke, in his confutations, no where brings the charge of intentional falsification against the translators of this version; though he does charge upon them an untruthful translation through obscure words and phrases. The translators themselves disclaim any attempt to falsify for the sake of their own cause. They cite Acts xiii. 2, as an example in which with some fairness, they might have translated instead of "*ministring, sacrificing, for so the Greeke doeth signifie, and so Erasmus translated. Yea, we might haue translated Saying Masse, for so they did.*"<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding this disclaimer, the rendering of Matt. xi. 21. . . . they had *done penauunce in hearecloth and ashes* long agoe: looks very much like a special wording for the advantage of their own cause. Tregelles finds serious objections to this version in all passages "which speak of the *finished sacrifice* of Christ," (in that) they "receive a colouring wholly different. Thus, in the Roman Catholic English version we find, in Heb. x. 12, 'But this man *offering* one sacrifice for sins, for ever *sitteth* on the right hand of God:.' and in ch. i. 3, 'making purgation of sins, *sitteth*, etc.' What perversions!"<sup>2</sup> The word *repentance*

<sup>1</sup> Fulke's *Rheims N. T. Annotations, in loco*, with Fulke's *Answer*.

<sup>2</sup> *Historic Evidence, &c., N. T.*, p. 88, note. London, 1852.

almost always appears as *penance*, with its Romish signification. The name of *Mary*, the mother of Jesus, is invariably printed in capitals, indicating a papistical exaltation. So the word *church* is put in capitals, indicating by way of eminence, the Roman Catholic Church. The name of *Jesus* also is printed in capitals, which is objectionable only as it points to the crossing and bowing and other superstitious ceremonies. The tendency of all this is unmistakable. But the intention of the translators fully appears in their annotations, where without stint or cover, they plead their cause, and in every possible instance, interpret the Scriptures in favor of the doctrines and doings of Rome. These notes are controversial as well as expository. In their preface the translators declare that they "set forth large ANNOTATIONS, thereby to shew the studious Reader in most places pertaining to the controuersies of this time; but the hereticall corruptions and false deductions, and also the Apostolike tradition, the exposition of the holy Fathers, the decrees of the Catholike Church and the most ancient Councils; which meanes whosouer trusteth not, for the sense of the holy Scriptures, but had rather follow his priuate judgement, or the arrogant spirit of these Sectaries, he shall worthily through his own wilfulnesse be deceiued."<sup>1</sup> Since these annotations form so important a part of the Rheims version the following collation is subjoined:<sup>2</sup>

Matt. II. 2. *Come to adore.* "This comming so farre of deuotion to visite and adore Christ in the place of his birth, was properly a Pilgrimage to his person; and warranteth the faithfull in the like kinde of externall worship done to holy persons, places, and things." Verse 11. *Adored him.* "This bodie, (saith Chrysostome,) the Sages adored in the cribbe. Let vs at the least imitate them; thou seest him not now in the cribbe, but on the altar; not a woman holding him, but the Priest present, and the holy Ghost powred out abundantly vpon the sacrifice." Verse 16. *Murdred.* "By this example we learne how great

<sup>1</sup> *Preface to Rheims Version*, p. 18. Fulke's edition, 1617.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, in *loco*.

credit we owe to the Church in canonizing Saints, and celebrating their holy daies; by whose onely warrant, without any word of Scripture, these holy Innocents have bene honoured for Martyrs, and their holy day kepte euer since the Apostles time, although they died not voluntarily."

- III. 8. *Fruit worthy.* "He preacheth satisfaction by doing worthy fruits or works of penance, which are, (as S. Hierome saith in 2. Joel) fasting, praying, almes, and the like." In refuting this, Fulke affirms: "that Hierome does not say that fasting, praying and almes, are satisfactions for sinne, but tokens of repentance."
- IV. 1. *Desert.* "As John the Baptist, so our Saviour by going into the desert, and there liuing in contemplation euen among bruit beasts, and subject to the assaults of the Deuill for our sinnes, giueth a warrant and example to such holy men as haue liued in wilderness for penance and contemplation, called Eremites."
- VI. 24. *Two Masters.* "Two religions, God and Baal, Christ and Caluin, Masse and Communion, the Catholike Church and Hereticall Conuenticles. Let them marke this lesson of our Saviour that thinke they may serue all masters, all times, all religions. Againe these two masters doe signifie God and the world, the flesh and the spirit, iustice and sinne."
- XII. 32. *Nor in the world to come.* "S. Augustine and other holy Doctors gather hereupon, that some sinnes may be remitted in the next life, and consequently proue Purgatorie thereby."
- XXI. 8. *Garments in the way.* "These offices of honour done to our Sauior extraordinarily, were very acceptable; and for a memorie hereof, the holy Church maketh a solemne Procession euery yeare vpon this day, specially in our Countrey when it was Catholike, with the B. Sacrament reuerently caried, as it were Christ vpon the asse, and strawing of rushes and flowers, bearing of palmes, setting vp boughes, spreading and hanging vp the richest clothes, the quire and queristers singing, as here the children and the people; all done in a very goodly ceremonie, to the honour of Christ, and the memorie of his triumph vpon this day. The like seruice and the like

duties done to him in all other solemne Processions of the B. Sacrament, and otherwise be undoubtedly no lesse gratefull."

XXIV. 30. *The signe of.* "The signe of the Sonne of man, is the holy Crosse which then shall appeare to the Iewes to their confusion. . . . It shalbe no lesse confusion to heretikes that cannot abide the signe thereof."

XXVI. 26. *My body.* "He said not, This bread is a figure of my body; or, This wine is a figure of my bloud; but, This is my body, and, This is my bloud; . . . when some Fathers call it a figure or signe, they meane the outward formes of bread and wine." In confuting this, Fulke quotes several of the Church Fathers whose combined testimony is against the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Luke X. 35. *Supererogate.* "S. Augustine saith, that the Apostle (I. Cor. 9) according to this place did supererogate, that is, did more then he needed, or was bound to doe, when he might haue required all duties for preaching the Gospel, but would not, . . . whereof it cometh, that the workes which we doe more then precept, be called workes of supererogation; and whereby it is also euident against the Protestants, that there be such workes."

XVII. 14. *To the Priests.* "This leprosie signifieth sinne, which though God may and can heale without any mans means, yet he doth it not ordinarily but by the Priests ministrie; therefore let no man despise Gods ordinance, nor say that it is ynough to confesse to God, though he neuer come at the Priest." Here auricular confession is assumed. For as Fulke suggests, it remains to be proven that it is an ordinance of God.

XXII. 19. *This is my body.* "Although sense tell thee it is bread, yet it is the body, according to his wordes. Let faith confirme thee, iudge not by sense, after the wordes of our Lord let no doubt rise in thy mind, . . . Of the verite of flesh and bloud there is left no place to doubt; by the profession of our Lord himselfe, and by oure faith, it is flesh and bloud indeed. Is not this truth? To them be it vntrue, which denie IESVS Christ to be the true God."—*Which is giuen.* "As the former words make and proue his body present, so these words plainly signifie, that it is

present, as giuen, offered, or sacrificed for vs: and being uttered in the Present tense, it signifieth not onely that it should afterward be giuen or offered on the Crosse, but that it was then also in the Sacrament giuen and offered for vs. Whereby it is inuincibly proued, that this body is present as a host or sacrifice; and that the making or consecrating thereof must needs be sacrificing."

The publication of the Rheims New Testament with its outspoken papistical notes created quite a sensation. The question among Protestant divines was, Who shall refute these bold assumptions and popish slanders? It is said that Queen Elizabeth applied to Beza to review both the text and notes of this version, but that he declined and suggested Thomas Cartwright as the man most capable for such a service. In 1583, after having been urged by his friends, and specially encouraged by the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham, Cartwright began the work under the title of "A Confutation of the Rhemish Translation, Glosses, and Annotations on the New Testament." By a mandate from Archbishop Whitgift he was prohibited from prosecuting it. Though somewhat discouraged by this, he went forward and nearly completed the work. But it was not published as a whole till 1618, some years after his death.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Cartwright was not only a learned man, but a stanch Puritan and a famous preacher. "He was," says Fuller, "most pious and strict in his conversation, a pure Latinist, an accurate Grecian, an exact Hebrean, and in short an excellent scholar." And so eloquent was he, that when his turn came (to preach) at St. Mary's, "the Clerk thereof was fain to take down the windows of the Church."<sup>2</sup> For his principles concerning

<sup>1</sup> Chalmer's *Biographical Dictionary*. Art. *Cartwright* (Thos). VIII., 327. London, 1813.

<sup>2</sup> Fuller's *History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 140. 1655. "Dugdale calls him the standard-bearer of the Puritans, and says he was the first in the Church of England who began to pray extempore before sermons."—Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, I., 234, note. New York, 1863.

Church discipline he suffered deprivation and imprisonment. But so eminent and worthy was he, that among Conformists even he had many friends and admirers. Archbishop Whitgift frequently befriended him, and hoped to gain him over to Conformity. When Cartwright's *Confutation* was published, it added fuel to the controversy. Previous to this, however, an *Answer to the Rheimists Annotations* was published by George Withers. Also in the same year (1588) Bulkeley put forth *An Answer to the Rhemists Preface*. But chief among the opposers of this version was Dr. William Fulke, who, besides his *Defense of English Translations*, wrote his *Answers to the Rhemish Annotations*, which were published in 1589. The plan of this work embraced a reprint of the Rheims New Testament, also that of the Bishops' Bible—that is, the revised edition of 1572. These are printed in parallel columns. The Rheims preface is taken up paragraph by paragraph and answered. So, likewise, the annotations are refuted verse by verse. This book became very popular, and gave to the Rheims version a much wider circulation than it otherwise would have attained. The work was reissued in 1601. It was revised and republished in 1617, and issued again in 1633.<sup>1</sup> There were new editions of the Rheims New Testament published in 1600, 1621, and 1633.<sup>2</sup> The controversy on both sides raged during this period. Whitaker wrote in opposition to Bellarmine in 1610; Kellison published in 1615 *A Gagg for the Reformed Gospel*, which was answered by Dr. Richard Montagu. Bernard, the author of *Thesaurus Biblicus*, published in 1626 *Rhemes against Rome*.<sup>3</sup> It was during this period also that the Romish version of the Old Testament was published at Douay.

The Old Testament of the Douay Bible, published in 1609-10, lay in Manuscript about thirty years before it was printed. For this delay the revisers give the "one general

<sup>1</sup> Compare Westcott's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, p. 109, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Eadie's *Eng. Bible*, II., 149.

cause, our poor estate in banishment.”<sup>1</sup> The translation of the Old as well as New Testament was from the Latin Vulgate, which the Rhemists claimed was superior, not only to other Latin versions, but to the Greek and Hebrew originals, “since the Latin (of the Vulgate) was translated out of them while they were more pure; and that the same Latin hath been far better conserved from corruptions.”<sup>2</sup> But the frequent revisions of the Latin Vulgate, and the papal conflict over rival editions about this time, are strongly opposed to so bold a claim for the edition from which they translated, whatever might be said for the text of the Vulgate as it came from the hands of Jerome.

In 1546 the Council of Trent decreed that the Latin Vulgate was authentic, and yet failed to designate the edition containing the true text; but at the same time, singularly enough, appointed a committee of six persons to set forth this authentic edition. The pope, however, prevented them.<sup>3</sup> This was the beginning of the pope’s war over the Latin text of the Vulgate. Pius IV. undertook to put forth a corrected and an authoritative edition of the Vulgate. His design was taken up by Pius V. and completed by Sixtus V. This last pope not only gathered around him scholarly men, but engaged in the work himself, personally revising and correcting the pages for the press. To add to the authority of this edition, he issued a bull in 1589, in which he declares: “Of our certain knowledge and plenitude of apostolical power, we ordain and declare that this edition only, which has now been corrected in the best possible manner, and printed at our Vatican press, is without any doubt or controversy to be regarded by the Christian public, as the Vulgate Latin edition of the Old and New Testament, received as *authentic* by the council of Trent. And we order it to be read through the whole Christian world, in all churches, remarking, that first by the general consent of the holy church, and of the holy

<sup>1</sup> *Preface, O. T. Douay Bible.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Kitto’s Encyclopedia. Art. Vulgate. II., 923, 924. New York, 1853.*

Fathers, then by the decree of the general council of Trent, and now also, by that apostolical authority which God hath committed unto us, it was, and is enjoined to be received and accounted, as a true, lawful, authentic, and undoubted copy, in all public and private disputations, lectures, sermons, or expositions.”<sup>1</sup>

This Bible of Sixtus V. was published in 1590, in three volumes folio, and is said to be “one of the grandest works which ever issued from the Vatican press, under the superintendence of Aldus.”<sup>2</sup> But it was soon discovered to be full of errors, and on the accession of Gregory XIV. all the copies were called in and a new edition resolved upon. The work of revision was committed to a select number of cardinals and other learned men. Little progress was made under Gregory, as he died in 1591; but it was taken up and completed by his successor, Clement VIII. This Clementine edition was published in 1592, and put forth with the same claims as those of the Sixtine edition—that is, as the veritable and authentic edition of the council of Trent. There existed numerous variations in the readings of these two versions, some of which amounted to contradictions, which argued very unfavorably respecting papal infallibility. Clement and his revisers confined themselves largely to correcting the corrections made by Sixtus.<sup>3</sup>

The Douay translators wisely followed the Clementine edition of 1592. Their preface intimates only one thing they had done touching the text, whereof they would especially give notice: “That whereas heretofore, in the best Latin editions, there remained manie places differing in wordes, some also in sense, as in long processe of time the writers erred in their copies; now lately by the care and diligence of the Church, those diuerse readings were maturely and judiciously examined and conferred with sundrie the best written and printed bookes, and so resolved upon, that all which

<sup>1</sup> Townley's *Biblical Literature*, II., 492.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 492.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 493-4.



before were left in the margent are either restored into the Text, or else omitted; so that now none such remain in the margent. For which cause they had *again conferred* this *English* Translation, and conformed it to the *most perfect* Latin Edition." The title-page reads: "The *Holie Bible*, faithfully translated into *English* out of the authentical *Latin*, diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and other editions in divers languages, with Arguments of the Books and Chapters; Annotations; Tables; and other helps, for better understanding of the Text; and for discoverie of Corruptions in some late translations; and for clearing Controversies in Religion. By the English College of Doway,.... Printed at Doway by Laurence Kellam at the signe of the holie Lamb. M. DC. IX."

The publication of the Old Testament attracted but little attention, the controversy having confined itself for the most part to the New Testament translation. The reasons for this, as assigned by Fuller, were: "Partly, because no great eminence therein to entitle it to their (i. e. Protestants) perusal; Partly, because that *moiety* of the *Bible* is of least concernment in the controversies betwixt us and the *Church of Rome*."<sup>1</sup> There were various hindrances which limited the circulation of the Douay Bible, such as: the size of the book, which put it beyond the reach of the poor; the opposition of the papal hierarchy to the free use of the Bible; and especially the obscurities of the translation, which rendered it unacceptable to English Catholics. So that we are not surprised to learn that there were but two editions of the Douay Bible published, the first of which was in 1609-10; the second in 1635.

The annotations on the Old Testament were prepared by Thomas Worthington, who was president of the College at Rheims. Afterward he returned to Douay, where "he reviewed and published the *English* translation of the Old Testament,"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Church History of Britain*, B. IX., p. 172. London, 1655.

<sup>2</sup> *Lewis' History of Eng. Translations*, p. 291.

which had been made at Rheims many years before. The anxiety of the translators to secure a wide circulation for the Douay Bible is manifested in the closing words of their preface, in which they make a special presentation of their work to both Catholics and heretics: "With this then we wil conclude, most deare (we speake to you al, that vnderstand our tongue, whether you be of contrarie opinions in faith, or mundane feare participate with another Congregation, or professe with vs the same Catholike Religion) to you al we present this worke."

The imperfections of the Douay Bible, and its failure to meet the expectations of its friends, did not necessarily arise from its being a translation from the Latin. The Latin vulgate waits to be properly appreciated by the Protestant Church. Whatever of human imperfection may have been entailed upon it from its original translation, or through the revision and translation of Jerome; or whatever of faults may have crept into the text, in the course of years, through the negligence of transcribers; or whatever of popish conflict there may have been over rival editions; there is no means of estimating the obligation of true religion for centuries to this Latin text of the Holy Scriptures. At the first this text was the vernacular of the people. And then, for ages afterward, in a revised and unrevised state, this Latin text was the source from which the unlearned as well as the learned of Western Christendom drew the water of life. Even up to the time of the Reformation, especially on the continent, the Vulgate was the principal source of religious knowledge. Martin Luther first learned the principles of the Reformation from a Latin Bible. Besides, the Vulgate became the honored basis of Vernacular versions in Western Europe. Particularly was it the groundwork of the Wycliffite versions, which for a hundred and fifty years proved a well-spring of spiritual blessing to the English nation. And this Latin Vulgate to-day is not without its importance, since it stands as an "early witness to the text and interpretation of the whole Bible."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. Art. *Vulgate*. IV., 3451. New York, 1872.

In addition to the above the Latin Vulgate has exercised an important influence upon the English language. In the earliest Latin translations there were many Latin words taken from a common and consecrated to a sacred use—that is, as to their meaning. Many of these, in an Anglicized form, found their way into English theological speech, and into English versions of parts of the Bible, long before the time of Wycliffe. So that, while we are indebted to the Wycliffite versions, Tyndale's translation, and other early English versions, as mediums for many theological terms, yet for these words we are primarily indebted to the Latin Vulgate. Many familiar and significant words thus have been bequeathed to us, and we scarcely have stopped long enough to inquire whence they came. Such words, for example, as *adoption*, *advocate*, *charity*, *confession*, *conversion*, *election*, *glory*, *grace*, *immortality*, *justified*, *mediator*, *parable*, *reconciling*, *redemption*, *regeneration*, *remission*, *resurrection*, *revelation*, *sacrifice*, *sanctified*, *scripture*, and *spirit*. While these words find a place in the Rheims New Testament, yet not a single one is peculiar to that version. For the most part they were used first in the Wycliffite versions, and derived directly from the Vulgate, as will appear in the following collation :

- Matt. XIII. 33. An other *parable* Ihesus spac to hem. Wycliffe, after *parabolam* of the V.
- Mark XII. 18. And Saducees, that seyen no *resurecioun*. Wycliffe, after *resurrectionem* of the V.
- John II. 22. . . . and thei bileueden to the *scripture*. Wycliffe, after *scripturæ* of the V.
- Acts XV. 3. . . . declarynge the *conuersion* of the gentyles. Tyndale, after *conuersionem* of the V.
- Rom. I. 9. . . . to whom I serue in *my spirit*, in the gospel of his soñe. Wycliffe, after *in spiritu meo* of the V.
- III. 24. Thei *justified* freely bi his grace, by the *redemcioun*, or the *agenbiyng* that is purposid in Ihesu Crist. Wycliffe, after *justificati* and *redemptionem* of the V.
25. . . . for *remiscioun* of bifore goyng synnes. Wycliffe, after *remissionem* of the V.

- IV. 20. . . . gyuyng *glorie* to God. Wycliffe, after *gloriam* of the V.
- V. 15. . . . moch more the *grace* of God. Wycliffe, after *gratin* of the V.
- VIII. 15. . . . but ye han taken the *spirit of adopcioun*. Wycliffe, after *spiritum adoptionis* of the V.
- XI. 5. . . . a remnaunt lefte thorow the *eleccion* of grace. Tyndale, after *electionem* of the V. Or rather, this word was common and had been in use since the time of Wycliffe, whose translation of the seventh verse of this chapter reads : . . . Israel hath not getyn that that he soughte, forsothe *eleccioun* hath getyn.
- XV. 16. . . . *sanctified* by the holy goost. This word seems first to have been employed by Tyndale. Wycliffe uses the word *halewid*. The Vulgate has in this connection, *sanctificata*.
- XVI. 25. . . . the *revelacioun* of mysterie holden stille, . . . Wycliffe, after *revelationem* of the V.
- I. Cor. XIII. 1. . . . sothli I haue not *charite*. Wycliffe, after *charitam* of the V.
- II. Cor. V. 19. Sothli for God was in Crist *reconcilynge* to him the world. Wycliffe, after *reconcilians* of the V.
- Phil. II. 17. . . . vpon the *sacrifice* and seruyce of youre feith. Wycliffe, after *sacrificium* of the V.
- I. Tim. VI. 16. The which aloone hath *immortalite*. Wycliffe, after *immortalitem* of the V.
- Heb. XII. 24. And to Jhesu *mediatour* of the newe testament. Wycliffe, after *mediatorum* of the V.
- I. John II. 1. . . . But and if ony man shal synne, we hau *auoeket* anentis the fadir Ihesu Crist iust. So the earlier version of Wycliffe, while the later version has : *aduocat*, and both after *advocatiam* of the V.<sup>1</sup>

These examples might be greatly increased showing the influence of the Latin Vulgate upon our English Scriptures; and so also upon the theological language of English speaking people. This with other influences, entitles the Vulgate to a more honorable place in the esteem of Protestants, who have

<sup>1</sup> The above examples from Wycliffe are from Forshall and Madden's *Wycliffite Versions*. Oxford, 1850. The readings from the Latin Vulgate are from Stier and Theile's *Polyglotten-Bibel*. 1854.

been inclined to regard it as the peculiar treasure of the Romish Church. Further the above collation shows, and a still larger one would confirm the fact, that we are most of all indebted to the Wycliffite versions and not to the Rhemish version, for appropriating, Anglicizing, and spiritualizing words derived directly from the Latin Vulgate.

Dr. Cornelius Nary, an eminent Catholic divine, published in 1718-19 the New Testament in English, translated from the Vulgate, diligently compared with the Greek and with divers translations in other languages, together with annotations and marginal notes. This was not, strictly speaking, a revision of the Rheims New Testament, but it was the first attempt to give to English Catholics the Scriptures in their own tongue since 1635,<sup>1</sup> a period of almost a hundred years. In his preface, Dr. Nary says: that he translated from the Latin Vulgate, since it had been declared "authentick by the Council of Trent." In the same connection he speaks of the difficulty of the undertaking, and excuses himself for entering upon it on the ground of his "Knowledge of oriental Languages"; also that his "Countrymen had great need of such a Translation." In showing up this need, he says: "We have no *Catholick* Translation of the Scriptures in the *English* Tongue but the *Doway* Bible and the *Rhemish* Testament, which have been done now more than an hundred Years since; the Language whereof is so old, the Words in many Places so obsolete, the Orthography so bad, and the Translation so very literal, that in a Number of Places it is unintelligible, and all over so grating to the Ears of such as are accustomed to speak, in a manner, another Language, that most People will not be at the pains of reading them."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Nary therefore sought to make his translation speak the English tongue. In doing this he kept "as close to the Letter as the *English* would permit"; and where the words were implied, though not expressed in

<sup>1</sup> The date of the issue of the second and last edition of the Douay Bible proper.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis' *Hist. of Eng. Translations*, pp. 357, 358.

the Latin, he put them in italics, sometimes in the text and sometimes in the margin. He concludes his preface with an account of the annotations, the design of which was "to reconcile some apparent Contradictions in the Gospels, and to illustrate the literal Sense of the Text. . . . . In a word, his chief Aim was to encourage his Countrymen to read and to meditate upon the Will and Testament of their heavenly Lord and Master, by giving it to them in a Stile and Dress less obscure, and somewhat more engaging than it has been many Years past."<sup>1</sup>

Another Roman Catholic translation of the New Testament was published in 1730-33, by Dr. R. Wetham, a professor at Douay. He commends the translators of the Rheims New Testament for their endeavors to give a true and literal translation, though he confesses that they followed the Latin too scrupulously. Wetham criticises Dr. Nary for his too great freedom with the text, and charges him with making a paraphrase rather than a literal translation. He congratulates himself that his translation was from the Latin rather than the Greek text. In putting forth his work, he did not believe "that every one though never so ignorant, might read and put his own Constructions on the Sense of these sacred Writings, but, that they might be read with humility and an entire submission to the Judgment of the Church, and of the Head of the Church the Successor of Saint *Peter*, to those Pastors and Bishops whom *Christ* left to govern the Church."<sup>2</sup>

A revised edition of the Douay Bible was published in 1749-50, by Dr. Richard Challoner, one of the vicars apostolic of the Roman Catholic Church in England. This version is rather a new translation than a revision, though in later editions it claims to be both. The changes for the better introduced by Dr. Challoner are so numerous that it is largely conformed to the text of King James' version. True, after the manner of the Rheims version, he retains such untranslated words as : *Azymes*, Matt. xxvi. 17; though in Luke xxii. 1,

<sup>1</sup> Lewis' *Hist. of Eng. Translations*, pp. 361, 362.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 363, 364.

it is translated *the feast of unleavened bread*; *Pasch*, Matt. xxvi. 17; *Parasceve*, Mark xv. 42; *Paraclete*, John xiv. 16. Also such words as *penance*, *justice*, *chalice*, are retained. Taken as a whole, however, it is very readable, since it leaves out that whole class of obscure and senseless words found in the Rheimish version, such as *exinanited*, *contristate*, and *prefinition*. Take the following as specimens of this translation :<sup>1</sup>

Ex. XX. And the Lord spoke all these words :

2. I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.
3. Thou shalt not have strange Gods before me.
4. Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven thing, nor the likeness of anything, that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, nor of those things that are in the waters under the earth.
5. Thou shalt not adore them, nor serve them : I am the Lord thy God, mighty, jealous, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and fourth generation of them that hate me ;
6. And shewing mercy unto thousands to them that love me, and keep my commandments.
7. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain ; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that shall take the name of the Lord his God in vain.
8. Remember that thou keep holy the sabbath day.
9. Six days shalt thou labour, and shalt do all thy works.
10. But on the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God : thou shalt do no work on it, thou nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy beast, nor the stranger that is within thy gates.
11. For in six days the Lord made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are in them, and rested on the seventh day, therefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and sanctified it.
12. Honour thy father and thy mother, that thou mayst be long lived upon the land, which the Lord thy God will give thee.
13. Thou shalt not kill.

<sup>1</sup> Challoner's *Revision of the Bible*. New York and Montreal, 1876.

14. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
  15. Thou shalt not steal.
  16. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
  17. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, neither shalt thou desire his wife, nor his servant, nor his handmaid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his.
- Matt. VI. 9. Thus therefore shall you pray : Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.
10. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.
  11. Give us this day our supersubstantial bread.
  12. And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors.
  13. And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Challoner's annotations are not extensive, and in many instances are not objectionable, especially upon the Epistle to the Romans. But those on the Gospels are decidedly papistical. It ought to be a matter, however, of sincere gratification among the lovers of the English Scriptures that there has been such a growing tendency to liberality among Catholic revisers of the Douay Bible. Dr. Murray's edition of 1825 was largely conformed to the Authorized version. So also Dr. Lingard's translation of the Four Gospels, 1836, was made in the same liberal spirit.<sup>1</sup> Those in high authority suffer these improved editions of the Scriptures to go forth, but with a constrained and faint approval. From the above it appears that the Catholic Bible of to-day is not the Douay Bible of 1609 and 1635. And if such versions or revisions as that of Dr. Challoner could go forth without note or comment, Protestants might rejoice, and even aid in circulating them among American Catholics.

<sup>1</sup> It was published anonymously by Dolman, London.



## CHAPTER X.

THE AUTHORIZED VERSION. A. D. 1611.

QUEEN ELIZABETH died March 24, 1603, and was succeeded by James VI. of Scotland. The Puritans, so long under ban, now expected speedy relief. James, though born of Roman Catholic parents, was a Presbyterian by profession. He had publicly pledged himself against the extremes of Romanism, Genevanism, and the Episcopacy of Elizabeth. In the General Assembly at Edinburgh, 1590, with uplifted hands, "He praised God that he was born in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place as to be king of such a church, the sincerest (purest) kirk in the world. 'The Church of Geneva,' said he, 'keep Pasche and Yule (Easter and Christmas), what have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour Kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English: they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall maintain the same.'"<sup>1</sup> After his accession, therefore, one of the first acts of the Puritans was to draw up a petition for the reformation of certain abuses in the Church. This was the noted Millenary petition, so called because it was said to have been signed by a thousand names, though in fact the number was limited to seven hundred fifty or eight hundred.<sup>2</sup> In response, the king issued a proclamation calling for a conference to meet at Hampton Court, to hear complaints concerning abuses in the Church, and to reform the same, "if he should find them apparently proved." The meeting was

<sup>1</sup> Neal's *History of the Puritans*, I., 227.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

accordingly held in the drawing-room within the privy chamber of Hampton Court Palace, on the 14th, 16th and 18th of January, 1604. The discussion soon revealed to the Puritan party, that they had little to expect from the king, who from the first sided with the bishops and nobles. He seriously interrupted the Puritans in their speeches, and indulged with his nobles "in mirth and raillery" at the expense of the "unhappy Puritans." Further he gave the conference to understand that he had learned a lesson in Scotland that he would not soon forget, and that was, that a Scots' presbytery meant no king, since it "agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil." Turning to his bishops, he said: "My lords, I may thank you that these Puritans plead for my supremacy, for, if once you are out and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy, for, No bishop, no king."<sup>1</sup> King James had not forgotten his ineffectual attempt to play pope in Scotland, when at the hands of his own nobility, who favored freedom in Church and State, he "was seized and restrained for a time to Ruthven castle."<sup>2</sup> The importance of this conference, however, is that we are indebted to it for the first suggestion looking towards a new translation of the Scriptures. A suggestion which finally resulted in King James' version, which has come down to us through more than two and a half centuries, and is to-day our universally accepted English Bible.

On the second day of the conference, Dr. Reynolds, the acknowledged leader of the Puritan party, addressed the assembly in behalf of his brethren. He was frequently interrupted, and grossly treated by the king and his bishops. On one occasion it is related, that Bishop Bancroft dropped upon his knees and begged the king, "to stop the Doctor's mouth," alleging, "that schismatics are not to be heard against their bishops." But Reynolds was permitted to go on, and in the course of his remarks on the subject of a new catechism, he "moved his Majesty, that there might be a *new Translation*

<sup>1</sup> Neal's *History of the Puritans*, I., 232.

<sup>2</sup> Hetherington's *History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 85, 86, 87. New York, 1870.

of the Bible, because," he said, "that those which were allowed in the Reigns of *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* were corrupt, and not answerable to the Truth of the Original."<sup>1</sup> Bancroft objected that if every man's humor were followed, there would be no end to translations of the Scriptures. But the king accepted the motion and entered heartily into the suggestion. He affirmed that "he had never yet seen a Bible well translated in *English*, tho' he thought the *Geneva* the worst, and therefore wished, that some special Pains should be taken in the Matter for one uniform Translation, and this to be done by the best learned in both the Universities."<sup>2</sup> . . . The king added, on a hint from the bishop of London, "that no marginal Notes should be added, he having found in those annexed to the *Geneva* Translation some Notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and favouring too much of dangerous and traitorous Conceits."<sup>3</sup> The account given by the translators in their preface is substantially the same with the above, and is as follows: "But besides all this, they (the Puritans) were the principall motiues of it, and therefore ought least to quarrell it; for the very Historicall trueth is, that vpon the importunate petitions of the Puritanes, at his Majesties comming to this Crowne, the Conference at Hampton Court hauing been appointed for hearing their complaints; when by force of reason they were put from all other grounds, they had recourse at the last, to this shift, that they could not with good conscience subscribe to the Communion booke, since it maintained the Bible as it was there translated, which was as they said, a most corrupted translation. And although this was judged to be but a very poore and emptie shift; yet euen hereupon did his Maiestie beginne to bethinke himselfe of the good that might ensue by a new translation, and presently after gaue order for this Translation which is now presented vnto thee."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Barlowe's *Summe & Substance of the Hampton Court Conference*, p. 45. As cited by Lewis' *History of English Translations*, p. 307. London, 1739.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> *Preface*, folio ed., 1613.

In fact the subject at the time seems to have attracted but little attention. It came up incidentally in the discussion on subscribing to the Communion book, and must have been regarded by all as a secondary matter. The Episcopal party had their Bishops' Bible; and the Puritans were satisfied with their Genevan version, rightly regarding it as the best translation as yet produced. Neither was there any outside demand for a new English version. But among the articles laid down as the result of this conference, the second, according to Galloway's account, reads: "That a translation be made of the whole Bible, *as consonant as can be to the original Hebrew and Greek*; and this to be set out and printed, *without any marginal notes*, and only to be used in all Churches of England in time of divine service."<sup>1</sup> But this created no expectation. At the meeting of parliament which occurred soon after this conference, the matter was not mentioned. Besides at the convocation which met at this time, action was taken to the effect that, "*If any Parishes be yet unfurnished of the Bible, of the largest Volume . . . . . the said Churchwardens shall within convenient time provide the same at the Charge of the Parish.*" As Lewis remarks in this connection, from this action and from the king's letters patent in ratifying it, "one would have thought that the Resolution, just now mentioned, of having a new translation of the Bible, had been dropped and wholly laid aside. But it seems it was not. For almost presently after, the King commissioned several learned Persons of both the Universities and other Places, to meet, confer and consult together. . . . in order to make a new and more correct Translation of the Bible."<sup>2</sup>

By whose advice or counsel these men were appointed, and by whose plans their work was decided upon, we have no means of determining. Anderson, in his zeal to detract from the king's participation in the origin of the work, says: "Before the end

<sup>1</sup> Anderson's *Annals of Eng. Bible*, p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis' *History of Eng. Translations of the Bible*, p. 309.

of June, a list of scholars suitable for the work was presented to James for his acceptance, they were selected *for* him and he of course approved.”<sup>1</sup> But King James’ letter, July 22, 1604, says: “he had appointed certain learned Men to the number of *Four* and *Fifty*, for the Translation of the Bible.”<sup>2</sup> If this movement was a wise one, and these appointments were wisely made, then let honor be given to whom honor is due. Though James I. may be regarded unworthy in character, yet there is no question as to his active agency in originating the enterprise that resulted in the Bible that still bears his name. Though neither from the royal treasury nor his own private purse, did the king provide means for defraying the expenses, yet he did the next best thing, which was to secure preferments for those whom he called to take part in the work of translation.<sup>3</sup>

The number originally appointed was fifty-four, but for reasons unknown only forty-seven engaged in the work. These were divided into six companies, two of which sat in London, two in Oxford, and two in Cambridge. The following table shows the names of the several committees, the portion of Scripture assigned to each, and the places where they met:

- I. WESTMINSTER COM. ON O. T.—Deans, Andrews and Overal; Doctors Saravia, Clarke, Layfield, and Teigh; Messrs. Burleigh, Kinge, Thompson, and Beadwell. *Pentateuch. Joshua to the first book of Chron. exclusive.*
- II. CAMBRIDGE COM. ON O. T.—Prof. Livelye, Dr. Richardson; Messrs. Chaderton, Dillingham, Harrison, Andrews, Spaldinge, and Binge. *First Chron. to the end of Ecc. inclusive.*
- III. OXFORD COM. ON O. T.—Doctors Hardinge, Reynolds, Holland, and Kilby; Messrs. Smith, Brett, and Fareclowe. *The four Greater Prophets, Lamentations, and the twelve Lesser Prophets.*
- IV. WESTMINSTER COM. ON N. T.—Dean Barlow; Doctors Hutchinson and Spencer; Messrs. Fenton, Rabbett, Sanderson, and Dakins. *Epistles of Paul, and the Canonical Epistles.*
- V. OXFORD COM. ON N. T.—Deans Ravis, Abbot, Montague, and Thompson (Giles); Messrs. Savile and Harmer; Doctors Perne

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of the Bible*, p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis, p. 312.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 312.

and Ravens. *The four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and book of Revelation.*

VI. CAMBRIDGE COM. ON APOCRYPHA.—Doctors Duport, Branthwaite, Radcliffe; Messrs. Ward, Downes, Boyse, and Warde. *Prayer of Manasses, and the rest of the Apocrypha.*<sup>1</sup>

These men were all noted for piety and learning. Dean Andrews was especially eminent as a linguist, and is said to have understood fifteen languages. "The world wanted learning to know how learned he was." Dean Overal had the reputation of being "a prodigious learned man." Dr. Teigh was "an excellent textuary and profound linguist." William Beadwell was "the best Arabic scholar of his time." Professor Livelye was an eminent linguist, excelling in the knowledge of Hebrew. Dr. Chaderton was distinguished for his knowledge of Hebrew and Rabbinical learning. Francis Dillingham was an eminent Grecian. Thomas Harrison was "skilled in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues." Dr. Reynolds stood first among the scholars of his time in Europe. He was the prime mover in this enterprise, but did not live to see it completed. "During his long illness his associates met in his room once a week to compare their notes." He long sustained the reputation of being "the pillar of Puritanism and the grand favourer of non-conformity." Dr. Holland "was another Apollos and mighty in the Scriptures." Dr. Kilby excelled in the knowledge of Hebrew. Dr. Smith was highly esteemed as "a Hebrew and Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic scholar." Dr. Brett was "eminent as a linguist in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew." Harmer was "a noted Latinist and Grecian." Andrew Downes is described "as one composed of Greek and industry"; and Savile was regarded as "the most learned layman of the day." Taken together they were representative men, not only in piety and learning, but in liberality of sentiment. Their liberality was especially manifested in the work of revision, for though required for the most part to confine them-

<sup>1</sup> The names of the several companies are from Lewis' *Hist. of Translations*, p. 310; compare also Burnet's list, *Hist. Ref. Records*, II., P. II., B. III., p. 366. London, 1683.

selves to the Bishops' Bible, they did not refuse to draw upon the Genevan and Rheims versions, when learning and good sense so required.<sup>1</sup>

The following rules were laid down by the king for their guidance, copies of which were sent to each company. There is some discrepancy in the different accounts as to the number of these rules. In the report to the synod of Dort in 1618, only seven rules are enumerated. But for the most part the number recorded is fourteen. The transcript given below is from Burnet:<sup>2</sup>

- I. The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the *Bishops Bible*, to be followed, and as little altered, as the Truth of the Original will permit.
- II. The Names of the Prophets, and the Holy Writers, with the other Names of the Text, to be retained, as nigh as may be, accordingly as they were vulgarly used.
- III. The old Ecclesiastical Words to be kept, *viz.* the word *Church* not to be translated *Congregation*, &c.
- IV. When a Word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of the Ancient Fathers, being agreeable to the Propriety of the Place, and the Analogy of the Faith.
- V. The division of the Chapters to be altered, either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.
- VI. No Marginal Notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the *Hebrew* or *Greek* words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be exprest in the Text.
- VII. Such Quotations of Places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another.
- VIII. Every particular Man of each Company, to take the same Chapter or Chapters, and having translated, or amended them severally by himself, where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what shall stand.
- IX. As any one Company hath dispatched any one Book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously, for his Majesty is very careful in this Point.

<sup>1</sup> They were permitted so to do by the XIV. rule laid down for their guidance with exception of the Rheims *version*.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Ref. Church of Eng.* II., *Records*, P. II., B. III., p. 368. 1683.

- X. If any Company, upon the review of the Book so sent, doubt or differ upon any Place, to send them word thereof; note the Place, and withal send the Reasons; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the General Meeting, which is to be of the chief Persons of each Company at the end of the Work.
- XI. When any Place of special obscurity is doubted of, Letters to be directed, by Authority, to send to any Learned Man in the Land, for his judgment of such a Place.
- XII. Letters to be sent from every Bishop, to the rest of his Clergy, admonishing them of this Translation in hand; and to move and charge, as many as being skilful in the Tongues; and having taken pains in that kind, to send his particular Observations to the Company, either at *Westminster, Cambridg, or Oxford.*
- XIII. The Directors in each Company, to be the Deans of *Westminster*, and *Chester* for that Place; and the King's Professors in the *Hebrew* or *Greek* in either University.
- XIV. These Translations to be used when they agree better with the Text than the Bishops Bible, viz.: *Tyndoll's, Matthews, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's,* (and) *Geneva.*
- XV. Besides the said Directors before mentioned, three or four of the most Ancient and Grave Divines, in either of the Universities, not employed in Translating, to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellor upon conference with rest of the Heads, to be Overseers of the Translations, as well *Hebrew* as *Greek*; for the better observation of the 4th Rule above specified.<sup>1</sup>

The needful preparations were completed at the close of the year 1604; but it is not known when the different companies entered upon their work. According to the preface the committees sat about three years. The labor of revising "cost the workemen, as light as it seemeth, the paines of twise seven times seuentie two daies and more."<sup>2</sup> The work of the committees finished, two were chosen from each company to meet in Stationers Hall, London, to overlook and prepare one copy

<sup>1</sup> This last was rather a by-law, as it seems to have been added afterwards, when the difficulty in the working of this IV. rule began to be felt. See Westcott's *History of Bible*, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Preface* to folio ed., 1613.



for the press.<sup>1</sup> This company was engaged some nine months. Dr. Miles Smith and Thomas Bilson were appointed to superintend the work through the press, which occupied them two years. In 1611, King James' Bible appeared from the press of Robert Barker, with the following title: "The Holy Bible Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New. Newly Translated out of the Originall Tongues: and with the former Translations diligently compared and reuised by his Majesty's Speciall Commandement. *Appointed to be read in Churches.* Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Anno Dom. 1611."

This title in the early folio editions, is surrounded by an elaborate device, which fills the entire page. The design is architectural and is made up of scroll-work, which gives to the whole an appearance of lightness combined with strength. At the top of the page is represented a high altar, over which hang heavy clouds; but light breaks through them, revealing the name *יהוה*, which symbolizes *God the Father*; in the central part of the altar, in a halo of clouds, stands a living lamb, with a cross on its shoulder, representing *Jesus on the earth*; and immediately below this, surrounded by clouds, is a dove with outstretched wings, symbolizing the *Holy Ghost*. On either side of the altar at the top of the page, are represented the sun, moon and twelve stars, which symbolize the *fact of revelation through Christ, his Church and his Apostles*. At the foot of the altar, on either side, sit the evangelists, Matthew and Mark, each attended by his apocalyptic symbol, viz.: Matthew by an eagle with the face of a man, and Mark by a lion. Each of the evangelists has an open book before him and a pen in his hand, as if in the act of writing. At the bottom of the page is another altar, upon which lies a bound and bleeding lamb, symbolizing *the sacrifice of Christ*. On either side of the altar sit the evangelists Luke and John,

<sup>1</sup> The report made at the Synod of Dort in 1618, gives twelve as the number of this Select Committee. See Lewis' *History of English Translations*, pp. 323, 324.

like those above, in the act of writing, attended also by their symbols, the one an ox, the other an eagle. On the right of the page, forming a handsome border, are twelve small medallion pictures, with tents in the foreground, representing the sons of Jacob; the tents bearing the insignia of the several tribes. On the opposite side of the page, and corresponding to these, are twelve other medallions representing the twelve disciples in half-length pictures. These doubtless symbolize the *New Testament*, and those on the opposite side the *Old Testament Church*. The minuteness of detail which enters into every part of this design, makes it a pleasant subject of study. The "*engraved title or frontispiece*" . . . says Cotton, "has been much admired. It is not often found in good condition."<sup>1</sup>

The dedication to the king is fulsome in the extreme. Written in the flattering spirit of the age, it is unworthy of a place in the sacred volume. But the preface, as a whole, is worthy of the revisers and their work. The design of the preface was first to answer objections to a new English translation. "Many mens mouthes haue been open a good while (and yet are not stopped) with speeches about the Translation . . . or rather perusals of Translations made before; and aske, . . . what the necessitie of the employment: Hath the Church been deceiued, say they, all this while? . . . Hath the bread been deliuered by the fathers of the Church, and the same prooued to be *lapidosus*, as *Seneca* speaketh? . . . Was their Translation good before? Why doe they now mend it?" In reply they say: "We are so farre off from condemning any of their labours that traueiled before vs in this kinde, either in this land or beyond sea, . . . that wee acknowledge them to haue been raised vp of God, for the building and furnishing of his Church, and that they deserue to be had of vs and of posteritie in euerlasting remembrance. . . . Yet for all that, as nothing is begun and perfected at the same time, and the latter thoughts are thought to be the wiser; so, if we building

<sup>1</sup> *Editions of the Bible in English*, p. 60. Oxford, 1852.

upon their foundation that went before vs, and being holpen by their labours, doe we endeouour to make that better which they left so good; no man, we are sure, hath cause to mislike vs. . . . . Thus much to satisfie our scrupulous brethren." Among these were the Puritans, to whom they specially replied: "And what can the King command to be done, that will bring him more true honour then this. . . . . But besides all this, they were the principall motiues of it, and therefore ought least to quarrell it." <sup>1</sup>

In reply to the Romish party they said: "We doe not deny, nay, wee affirme and auowe, that the verie meanest translation of the Bible in English, set foorth by men of our profession (for wee haue seene none of theirs of the whole Bible as yet) containeth the worde of God, nay, is the worde of God. . . . The translation of the *Seuenty* dissenteth from the Originall in many places, neyther doeth it come neere it, for perspecutie, grauitie, majestie; yet which of the Apostles did condemne it? Nay, they vsed it, (as it is apparent, and as Saint *Hierome* and most learned men doe confesse) which they would not haue done, nor by their example of vsing it, so grace and commend it to the Church, if it had beene vnworthy the appellation and name of the word of God. . . . . Yet before we end, we must answer a third cauill and objection of theirs against vs, for altering and amending our Translations so oft; wherein truly they deale hardly, and strangely with vs. For to whom euer was it imputed for a fault (by such as were wise) to goe ouer that which hee had done, and to amend it where he saw cause? . . . Then.. wee say, that of all men they ought to be most silent in this case. For what varieties haue they, and what alterations haue they made, not onely of their Service bookes, . . . but also of their *Latine* Translation? . . . . But what will they say to this, that Pope *Leo* the tenth allowed *Erasmus* Translation of the New Testament, so much different from the vulgar, by his Apostolike Letter & Bull; that the same *Leo* exhorted *Pagnin* to translate the whole Bible and

<sup>1</sup> *Preface, King James' Bible, 1613.*

bare whatsoever charges was necessary for the worke? Surely, .....if the old vulgar had been at all points allowable, to small purpose had labour and charges bene vndergone, about framing of a new. If they say, it was one Popes priuate opinion,.....then we are able to goe further with them, and to auerre, that more of their chiefe men of all sorts, euen their owne *Trent*-champions, and their owne Inquisitors..... doe either make new Translations themselues, or follow new ones of other mens making.”<sup>1</sup> Further in their re-tort they say: “Nay, we will yet come neerrer the quicke; doth not their *Paris*-edition differ from the *Louaine*, and *Hentenius* his from them both, and yet all of them allowed by authority?” They conclude their reply to the papists by a pointed reference to the edition of Sextus V. and his high claim for it as authoritative; also to Clement’s edition which followed soon after; which, though it differed widely from the edition of Sixtus yet, claimed the same authority. While therefore “our aduersaries,” they said, “doe make so many and so various editions themselues, and do jarre so much about the worth and authoritie of them, they can with no show of equitie challenge us for changing and correcting.”<sup>2</sup>

But the design of the preface, in the second place, was to show what they proposed to themselves in the “perusall and suruay of the Bible.” They say frankly that they did not think “to make a new Translation, not yet to make of a bad one a good one, .....but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath bene our endeauor, that our marke.....They trusted in him that hath the key of *Dauid*. .....In this confidence, and with this deuotion did they assemble together; not too many, lest one should trouble another; and yet many, lest many things haply might escape them. If you aske what they had before them, truely it was the *Hebrew* text of the Olde Testament, the *Greeke* of the New.....Neither did wee thinke much to consult the

<sup>1</sup> *Preface*, King James’ Bible, 1613.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*.

Translators or Commentators, *Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian, Greeke* or *Latine*, no nor the *Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch*; neither did we disdaine to reuise that which we had done, and to bring backe to the anuill that which wee had hammered.”<sup>1</sup>

Further, they rightly justify themselves in placing words of different sense in the margin, inasmuch as there are many words in the Scriptures “which be neuer found there but once, (hauing neither brother or neighbour, as the *Hebrewes* speake) so that we cannot be holpen by conference of places.” They also justify themselves in using a variety of renderings for the same Greek word. They sought thus to avoid “vni-formitie of phrasing”—that is, the expressing the “same notion in the same particular word, as, for example, if we translate the *Hebrew* or *Greeke* word once by *Purpose*, neuer to call it *Intent*; if one where *Iourneying*, neuer *Traueilling*; if one where *Thinke*, neuer *Suppose*; if one where *Paine*, neuer *Ache*; if one where *Joy*, neuer *Gladnesse*, &c. Thus to minse the matter, we thought to faviour more of curiositie then wisdome, . . . . For is the kingdome of God become words or syllables? why should wee be in bondage to them if we may be free, vse one precisely when wee may vse another no lesse fit, as commodiously? . . . . We might also be charged (by scoffers) with some vnequall dealing towards a great number of good English words, . . . if we should say, as it were vnto certaine words, Stand vp higher, haue a place in the Bible alwayes, and to others of like qualitie, Get ye hence, be banished for euer. . . . Lastly, wee haue on the one side auoided the scrupulositie of the Puritanes, . . . also . . . shunned the obscuritie of the Papists. . . . But we desire that the Scripture may speake like it selfe, as in the language of Canaan, that it may bee vnderstood euen of the very vulgar.”<sup>2</sup>

When this Bible first appeared there must have been some demand for it, as two editions in folio are said to have been printed during the first year; also a 12mo edition of the New

<sup>1</sup> *Preface, King James' Bible, 1613.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

Testament. In respect to the question of two editions issued in 1611, Dr. Cotton says: "I cannot but believe that two editions were actually issued in 1611; and to this conclusion I am led by the following facts. Dr Daly . . . possesses two Bibles dated 1611. . . . Apparently, these two copies agree perfectly with each other. But on close examination it will be found, 1st, that the wood-cut initial letters are frequently different in the two: 2nd, that in Genesis x. 16, one copy reads, 'the *Emorite*;' and the other, 'the *Amorite*.' 3rd, in the copy, which has the misprint *Emorite*, Exodus xiv. 10, . . . the verse occupies nine lines of text; and the catchword at the bottom of the page is the word 'For,' occurring in the middle of ver. 12. Whereas, in the other copy, the verse fills only six lines; and the *whole* of ver. 12, is included in that page."<sup>1</sup> Other variations might be noted, such as Ruth iii. 15, where one copy reads, "*he* went" and the other, "*she* went into the citie." Altogether these differences settle the question in favor of two issues.

But whatever of demand there may have been for the new Bible, it met from the first with no little disfavor. The Romish party, as might be expected, were outspoken in their opposition. The High Church Episcopal party were content, as a whole, with the Bishops' Bible; while the Low Church party, made up of moderate Puritans, though Conformists, together with the radical Puritans, were satisfied with the Genevan Bible. Among individual opposers, Hugh Broughton was the most violent. He ranked first among Hebrew and Greek scholars of his time; but in disposition he was self-conceited, arrogant, and heady. When, therefore, King James was in the act of appointing his revisers, by special request of the Bishop of London, Broughton, was left out. Notwithstanding this, he presumed to tender his services to the king, and to give directions for proceeding in the matter.<sup>2</sup> But when the revision was completed, he professed to be pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Editions of the Bible in English*, p. 60, note. Oxford, 1852.

<sup>2</sup> *Lewis' Hist. of Eng. Translations of the Bible*, p. 305.

foundly *grieved*, and his censures upon it were bitter and extravagant. "It is so ill done. Tell his Majesty that I had rather be rent in pieces with wild horses than any such translation, by my consent, should be urged on poor churches."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Robert Gell was another violent opposer. He attacked it from the pulpit in a series of discourses, in which he criticised the translation and charged the translators with taking undue liberty with the text, especially when they made the translation to serve their private opinions.<sup>2</sup> That this opposition was not confined to London, or to the minds of learned critics, appears from the following story told by Izaak Walton. Dr. Kilby, one of the revisers, was journeying with Mr. Sanderson. They stopped over the Sabbath with a friend of the Doctor. At the parish church, which they attended, the young preacher devoted "a great part of the hour allotted for his sermon in exceptions against the late translation, . . . and showed three reasons why a particular word should have been otherwise translated." When the evening services were ended, the preacher was invited to meet the Doctor, who, in the course of the conversation, assured him : "for that word, for which he offered to that poor congregation three reasons why it ought to have been translated as he said, he and others had considered all of them, and found thirteen more considerable reasons why it was translated as now printed."<sup>3</sup>

So general was the opposition to King James' Bible that it was slow in gaining public favor. As late as 1621, Dr. Andrews, in preaching before the king, took his text from the Bishops' Bible.<sup>4</sup> But the Genevan Bible was its most serious rival, since it continued to be published as late as 1644, when two editions were printed at Amsterdam.<sup>5</sup> In 1649, King James' Bible was printed with the *Genevan* annotations, by

<sup>1</sup> As cited by Eadie's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, II., 265.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Lewis' *Hist. Eng. Translations*, p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> Eadie's *Hist. of Eng. Bible*, II., 188.

<sup>4</sup> Smith's *Bible Dictionary*. Art. *Versign, Authorized*. IV., 3437. New York, 1872.

<sup>5</sup> Anderson's *Anna's*, p. 661.

way of pushing it into public favor. "But about this period it prevailed, and took the place it has ever since occupied."<sup>1</sup> Thus gradually King James' Bible overcame all opposition; and finally, in the midst of the unsettled condition of affairs, both in Church and State, by general consent it was accepted as the English Bible.

The title-page of the volume reads: "Appointed to be read in Churches." And the question naturally arises by whose authority, since by common consent "no *cannon*, *proclamation*, or *Act of Parliament*," can be shown enforcing the use of it.<sup>2</sup> The name, therefore, of "Authorized Version," has no real foundation and carries with it a false impression, and can be justified only by its long use and the lack of something better. The name "King James' Bible," at first was by no means inappropriate as a local name, and as a just acknowledgment of the active efforts of the king in originating the enterprise. But now it has lost its significance, since the Bible has outgrown the narrowness of the name, both by three and a half centuries as to time, and by a world-wide circulation as to place.

This version was a revision and not a new translation. The revisers wisely adhered to their purpose—"to make a good one better; or, out of many good ones, one principal good one."<sup>3</sup> And in doing this they followed the spirit, if not the letter, of rules *first* and *fourteenth* prescribed for their direction, which were that the Bishops' Bible was to be taken as the basis and followed, excepting when some one of the other English versions agreed better with the original text.<sup>4</sup> Besides English versions, there was extant the Latin translation of the Hebrew by Sanctes Pagninus. He was engaged in this work nearly thirty years. It was published in 1527. The chief aim of Pagninus was to translate the Hebrew words by the same number of Latin ones."<sup>5</sup> By this literal method he

<sup>1</sup> Anderson's *Annals*, p. 661.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 484, 485.

<sup>3</sup> See *Preface*, as cited above, p. 335.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 330, 331, above.

<sup>5</sup> Watson's *Theological Tracts. Dissertation on Ancient Versions*, pp. 39, 40.



brought out the idioms of the Hebrew tongue. His translation was revised in the same literal manner by Arias Montanus in 1572, which became the text of the Antwerp Polyglott. In 1534-5 was published Münster's Latin translation of the Old Testament. "Truly this translation," says Dupin, "is the most literal, but at the same time the most faithful of any done by Protestants." Another important version accessible to our translators was that of Leo Juda, printed at Zurich in 1544. He sought to make a free translation, giving the sense rather than the literal meaning of the words. There was also the version of Castalio (1551), which had some influence with our revisers, but which deserves to be classed under the head of perversions of the text. Castalio's fancy was to give to the world an elegant version in classical Latin. In doing this, he "mixed expressions borrowed from Profane authors with the text of Holy Writ."<sup>1</sup> In addition to the above, there was accessible the Latin version of the Old Testament by Tremellius, published in 1579. He was by birth a Jew, and in his translation "the chief Hebraisms are preserved, and the whole exactly conformable to the Hebrew text."<sup>2</sup>

The above works were critical somewhat, and so far adapted to the work of the revisers. They had other helps also in recent Vernacular versions, such as the authoritative revision of the French Bible, 1587-8. This was the Genevan revision of the French Bible, based upon a scholarly examination of the original text. There was also the very recent Italian version of the whole Bible, made by Diodati and published in 1607. This Protestant version has maintained its place to the present time.<sup>3</sup> To the above add two Spanish versions, the

<sup>1</sup> *Watson's Theological Tracts. Dissertations on Ancient Versions*, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42. Compare Westcott's *Hist. of Bible*, pp. 133, 221, 268.

<sup>3</sup> A new Italian version of the New Testament is just now (1881) being published by Father Curci, a prominent Roman Catholic priest, and formerly a Jesuit, but expelled from the order on account of his liberal principles. Diodati's version is Protestant; this of Curci's is Roman

later one appearing in 1602, and we have a series of independent helps accessible to the revisers of King James' Bible, which they undoubtedly used, since they did not hesitate, as they declare in their preface, to consult the Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch versions.<sup>1</sup>

But further, "if you aske what they had before them, truly it was the *Hebrew* text of the Olde Testament, the *Greeke* of the New, . . . these tongues therefore . . . wer set before vs to translate, being the tongues wherein God was pleased to speake to his Church by his Prophets and Apostles."<sup>2</sup> The first printed Hebrew Bible was published in folio, with points, at Soncino in 1488. An octavo edition of the Hebrew Bible was printed at Brescia in 1494; Bomberg's Great Hebrew Bible, the first edition, was published in 1518. An improved edition of the same was issued in four volumes, folio, by Bomberg in 1525-26. A still more complete edition was put forth by Bomberg in 1547-49, in four vols. folio. This was characterized by Dr. Adam Clarke, "as the most correct, and the most valuable Hebrew Bible ever published."<sup>3</sup> There was also the celebrated Complutensian Polyglott. It was begun in 1502 under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes, who spared no pains or expense in furthering the enterprise. Seven Hebrew MSS. alone are said to have cost *four thousand* crowns of gold. The whole cost of the work has been estimated at *fifty thousand* crowns. "The Old Testament of the Polyglott is made up of the Hebrew text, the Vulgate Latin, the Greek of the Septuagint version with a Latin translation, and the Chaldee Paraphrase with a similar Latin interpretation."<sup>4</sup> The New Testament of this Polyglott is made up of the Greek text, and the Latin text of the Vulgate. A volume was added explaining the meaning of Hebrew words and idioms. The whole was published in four vols. folio. The New Testament was finished

Catholic, yet it is from the Greek as well as Vulgate; and in his commentary he draws largely from Protestant sources.

<sup>1</sup> *Preface*. A. V. See pages 335, 336, above.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Townley's *Biblical Literature*, II., 467. London, 1821.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 202.

in 1514, and the Old Testament in 1517. But the work did not appear till 1522.<sup>1</sup> Besides the Complutensian, there was the celebrated Antwerp Polyglott. This "was executed at different periods between 1568 and 1573, by *Christopher Plantin* of Antwerp, under the superintendence of *ARIAS MONTANUS*," and was published in eight vols. folio. "The first four volumes contain the *Old Testament* and *Apocryphal Books*." The fifth volume contains the New Testament. The remaining volumes are taken up with Grammars and Lexicons of the Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek languages, also Biblical dissertations on such themes as Geography and Chronology.<sup>2</sup>

The Greek text accessible to the revisers of King James' Bible was the New Testament Greek of the Complutensian Polyglott, also the Greek text of Erasmus; the first edition of whose New Testament was published by Froben at Basle, in 1516. "Erasmus had used as the basis of his edition 2 Basel MSS., one for the Gospels, the other for Acts and the Epistles, with a collation of two other Basel MSS., and a third called after Reuchlin for the Apoc., the last verses of which he had to supply from the Vulgate."<sup>3</sup> The second edition of Erasmus' Greek Testament, 1519, contained several hundred alterations. In his fourth edition, 1527, he changed a few passages in the Apocalypse after the Complutensian text. The fifth edition of Erasmus, published in 1535, differs only in four places from the fourth. This fifth edition was followed by Stevens in his celebrated third edition of the Greek Testament, 1550, with but a few exceptions. Stevens added in the margin the readings of sixteen different manuscripts. This third edition of Stevens was that which was used by the revisers of King James' Bible; and was also the edition followed by Beza, with slight alterations, in the formation of his Greek text, which was published in 1565. The edition of Beza, published in 1589, together with the third edition of Stevens, may

<sup>1</sup> Townley's *Biblical Literature*, II., p. 203. London, 1821.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III., p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Herzog's Encyclopedia*. Art. *Bible Text*, I., 421. Philadelphia, 1818.

be regarded as comprising "the fundamental Greek text of the Authorized Version."<sup>1</sup> These likewise lay at the foundation of the so-called *Textus Receptus*, which was published at Leyden by Elzevir, in 1624-1633. The preface of the edition of 1633 contains the following: "*Textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum*, hence the title *Textus Receptus*."<sup>2</sup> Of course our translators had not this text, yet they had the elements out of which it was formed.

Modern textual criticism, with its invaluable accumulation of Ancient MSS. and other important sources of authority, together with its settled canons of judgment as to correct readings, has outgrown in a critical sense, particularly in the field of the New Testament, the limited materials within reach of Erasmus, Stevens, Beza, and the editors of the Great Polyglotts. And yet one of the important results of textual criticism is its favorable testimony to the authority, honesty, and integrity, as a whole, of the original texts of the Old and New Testaments accessible to the revisers of King James' Bible. But while these translators were able linguists, and were diligent in comparing their translation with the Hebrew and Greek, yet they adopted by approving, as well as by improving, the results of the labors of those who had gone before them. For the Authorized version is the work of no one man or body of men, nor of any given age, but in language and interpretation it is the resultant of the best labors of the best men during a period of more than two hundred years. The relation of the Authorized version to previous English versions is most intimate, though we go back even to the Wycliffite versions. But in Tyndale's translation of the New Testament particularly, we find the base line to which our revisers worked. In its Saxon words, English idioms, Scriptural style, and general faithfulness to the Greek text, Tyndale's version was the standard followed by succeeding revisers, including

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Bible Dictionary*. Art. *New Testament*, p. 2132, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Herzog's Encyclopedia*. Art. *Bible Text*, p. 422.

those of 1611. After a careful comparison, it has been estimated that nine-tenths of the First Epistle of John, and five-sixths of the Epistle to the Ephesians, of the Authorized version, have been retained from Tyndale.<sup>1</sup> These may be favorable examples, but a very cursory comparison will show that Tyndale's readings abound in our present New Testament.

By authority, the Bishops' Bible was made the basis of the revision of King James' Bible. It was so used, and its influence can be traced. And yet the revisers manifested a liberality of spirit, and a fidelity to truth in varying from it. And by far the greatest number of these variations, especially in the Old Testament, are traceable to the influence of the Genevan version.<sup>2</sup> The scholarly excellencies of this version were recognized and frequently approved, though it was the representative of the extreme reformed party in theology and Church polity. So likewise in the use of the Rheims version, the revisers manifested the same liberality in the opposite direction, since from this version they not only enlarged their vocabulary, but drew from it many happy and terse expressions and homely phrases.<sup>3</sup> Though it is somewhat surprising how many of these words and phrases are found to have been first used by Wycliffe. In estimating the influence of previous English translations upon the Authorized version, the claims of the Wycliffite versions have been almost wholly overlooked. Yet there are so many words and phrases common to each of them that they detract from the supposition that they are simply "happy coincidences." A few of these may be here noted, such as *mote*, *beame*, *strait is the gate and narrow is the way*, *spirit of adoption*, *living sacrifice*, *deape things of God*; instead of which Tyndale reads: *the bottome*

<sup>1</sup> Westcott's *History of Eng. Bible*, p. 165, note.

<sup>2</sup> A collation by Westcott of twelve verses from the liii. chap. of Isaiah, shows that "seven-eighths of the renderings are due to the Genevan version." A similar collation from Mark's Gospel reveals that nearly one-half agrees with the Genevan Bible or with Beza. See *Eng. Bible*, pp. 274, 286.

<sup>3</sup> Compare pages 307-8, above.

of *God's secretes*; while the Rhemists read: *the profundities of God*. Further, we find such phrases in Wycliffe and in the Authorized version, as *the cuppe of blessing which we blesse, despise yee the Church of God, a good confession, whited sepulchres, revelation of the mysterie, be it far from thee*. Some of these, it would seem, must have been adopted directly from the Wycliffite versions, while others may have descended through other translations.

But the true work of the revisers of King James' Bible is seen, not only in adopting felicitous renderings from previous versions, but in the delicate changes introduced by way of amendments. And so not unfrequently they were the first to seize upon the correct rendering of the original. The following may be taken as examples of changes for the better.<sup>1</sup>

- Rom. I. 28. . . . God *gaue* them *ouer* to a reprobate *minde*. This is an improvement on the Rheims version, which reads: God *deliuered vp* into a reprobate *sensae*.
- II. 18. . . . and approuest the things *that are* more *excellent*. The Rheims version reads: . . . and approuest the more *profitable* things.
- V. 20. . . . grace did *much* more abound. This is a slight improvement on the Rheims version, which reads: . . . grace did more abound.
- VIII. 19. For the *earnest expectation* of the creature, *waiteth for the manifestation* of the sonnes of God. Tyndale reads: *seruent desyre, abydeth lokynge* when the sonnes of God shall appere. The Rhemists read: For the *expectation* of the creature *expecteth* the *reuelation* of the sonnes of God.
28. . . . all things worke together for goode to them that lone God, to them who *are the* called *according to (his)* purpose. Wycliffe has: . . . worchen togidre *in to* good, to hem that *astir* purpos *ben* clepid *seyntis*. Tyndale has: worke *for the best*, . . . which also are called *of* purpose.

<sup>1</sup> Trench on the A. V., p. 102. The readings which follow are from a first edition of A. V. in the Boston Public Library.

29. For whom he *did foreknow*, hee also *did predestinate* to be *conformed* to the image of his sonne. This improves upon the Rhemists, who translate: For whom he *hath forknowen*, he *hath also predestinated* to be *made conformable* to the image of his sonne. Tyndale reads: For *those which he knewe before*, he also *ordeyned before* that they should be *like fashioned vnto the shape* of his sonne.

But there were changes for the worse. The revisers of King James' Bible sometimes passed over correct readings of earlier versions, or placed them in the margin when it would have been better to have put them in the text.<sup>1</sup> Take the following as examples:

Matt. V. 21. Yee haue heard, that it was saide *by* them of old time. The Genevan and Tyndale's versions read: *unto* them. The Rhemists have: *to* them.

XXVIII. 14. And if this come *to* the gouernours *eares*. The Genevan reads: And if this come *before* the Gouverneur. Our version gives the impression, that if it come as a matter of *hearsay* to the governor; while the Genevan version asserts more correctly, that if it come before him as a matter of *legal complaint* they would pacify him.<sup>2</sup>

Mark XI. 17. . . . My house shal be called *of* all nations the house of prayer? Tyndale, followed by the Genevan version, renders this: . . . my housse shal be called the housse of prayer *vnto* all nacions? The Jews were willing that the court of the Gentiles should be profaned, and this excited the indignation of Jesus, and was the occasion of his uttering the above, which is quoted from Isaiah lvi. 7.

Acts XIV. 15. . . . We also are men of *like passions with* you. "This fact," says Trench, "would not have disproved in the eyes of the Lycaonians the right of Paul and Silas to be considered gods. The heathen were only too ready to ascribe to their gods like passions, revenge, lust, envy, with their

<sup>1</sup> Trench on the A. V., p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> See page 239, above.

own."<sup>1</sup> Tyndale's version is better, which reads : We are *mortall men lyke vnto* you. This is followed by the Genevan versiou.

Eph. IV. 18. . . . because of the *blindnesse* of their heart. The Genevan has : *hardenes* ; so the margin of the A. V.

I. Thess. V. 22. Abstaine from all *appearance* of euill. The Genevan reads : all *kinde* of euil.

I. Tim. VI. 5. . . . *supposing that gaine is godlinesse*. Coverdale's Bible reads : *who thynke that godlynesse is lucre*. That is, that godliness is a means of gain.

I. Pet. I. 17. And if ye call *on the* Father. The Genevan is better, which reads : And if . . . ye call *him* Father.

II. Pet. III. 12. Looking for and hasting *vnto* the comming of the day of God. After the versions of Tyndale and Geneva, and placing the better rendering in the margin, which reads : *hasting the comming*.

The scholarship of the revisers of King James' Bible cannot be called in question, and yet an examination, not over critical, of their work, reveals incorrect renderings of tenses<sup>2</sup> and of prepositions, also neglect of the Greek article. In respect to Greek prepositions, however, in many instances the translators were right, and the incorrectness now is traceable to archaisms. The following examples, however, fall under the head of mistranslations, and show the importance of the smallest words in the original text :

Matt. XXVIII. 19. . . . baptizing them *in* the Name. Better, *into*, as in Gal. iii. 27. For as many of you as have been baptized *into* Christ, have put on Christ.

Luke XXIII. 15. No, nor yet Herod ; for I sent you *to* him, and loe, nothing worthy of death is done *vnto* him. Better to translate : is done *by* him. The meaning is, that in Herod's judgment Jesus had done nothing worthy of death.

<sup>1</sup> Trench on the A. V., p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> For illustrations of incorrect use of tenses, see Trench on the A. V., pp. 124-132. Also for a thorough discussion of the same subject by Canon Lightfoot. See *Revision of N. T.*, pp. 81-91. Schaff's ed. New York, 1873.



42. . . . Lord, remember me when thou comest *into* thy kingdome. Alford, *in loco*, regards this as a sad mistake, "as it destroys the force of the expression." It should read: *in* thy kingdom, that is, at thy coming in thy kingdom.
- II. Thess. II. 1. Now we beseech you, brethren, *by* the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. The objection to *by* in this connection is, that it introduces a formula of adjuration, a construction not found in the New Testament. Compare Lange and Alford *in loco*, who suggests: *on account of, in regard to*.
- II. Tim. II. 2. And the things that thou hast heard of mee *among* many witnesses. The margin has: *by*. Bengel prefers: *before*. If the witnesses are the presbyters present at Timothy's ordination, Bengel is doubtless right.
- Heb. VI. 7. . . . and bringeth foorth herbes meete for them *by* whom it is dressed. Better in the margin, which reads: *for* whom it is dressed.
- VII. 9. . . . payed Tithes *in* Abraham. Better to read: *through* Abraham.
- II. Pet. I. 3. . . . through the knowledge of him that hath called vs to glory and vertue. Alford, Bengel, and Lange prefer: *by his own* glory and virtue.

In the treatment of the Greek article our translators committed a double error, that of omission when it was present, and of insertion when it had no place in the Greek text. Such treatment affected, more or less, important truths. Take the following as illustrations:

- Matt. II. 4. . . . hee demanded of them where *Christ* should be borne. This should read: *the Christ*. After the resurrection the name of Christ became a proper name. In the Gospel narratives, therefore, in the Greek, we have *the Christ*, meaning the Messiah. But in our English version the article is almost always omitted.<sup>1</sup>
- Mark XIV. 69. And *a* mayde saw him againe. Leaving it indefinite, or

<sup>1</sup> This fact is enlarged upon by Lightfoot *on Revision of the N. T.*, Schaff's ed., pp. 94, 95. New York, 1873.

indicating another servant in distinction from the one mentioned in verses 66 and 67. This is corrected by giving place to the definite article and reading: *the* maid saw him again.

Luke II. 7. . . . and laid him in *a* manger. Better to read: in *the* manger.

Rom. V. 15-19. . . . for if through the offence of *one* many be dead. So through the whole passage, the definite article is omitted before *one*, and before *many*. But the contrast is brought out, when we learn that it is between *the one*, and *the many*, that the comparison is made. Lightfoot cites this passage after Bentley, as having an important bearing upon the extent of the benefits of Christ's obedience. And hence the correct rendering avoids "some hurtful mistakes about partial redemption."<sup>1</sup>

Col. I. 19. For it pleased (*the Father*) that in him should all *fulnesse* dwell. By rendering the omitted article and reading: all *the fulnesse*, we get a more correct view of the passage.

Rev. VII. 14. . . . These are they which came out of *great tribulation*. It ought to read: out of *the great tribulation*; thus connecting it with Matt. xxiv. 22, 29, and Dan. xii. 1.

The following selected examples show the opposite, but less frequent, error of our English version, of introducing the article when it had no place in the original text:

Rom. II. 14. For when *the* Gentiles which have not the Law, do by nature the things contained in the Law. The true reading is: when Gentiles, "meaning *some*, not *all*."

I. Thess. IV. 17. . . . shalbe caught vp together with them in *the* clouds. The definite article, *the*, is wanting in the Greek text.

I. Tim. VI. 10. For the love of money is *the* roote of all euill. The article here is wanting in the Greek, so that the more correct reading is: For the love of money is *a* root of all evil.

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot on *Revision of the N. T.*, Schaff's ed., p. 92. New York, 1873.

II. Tim. IV. 7, 8. I haue fought *a* good fight. . . . Hencefoorth there is layde vp for me *a* crowne of righteousnessse. The Greek reads: *the* good fight, and *the* crown of righteousness.

There is one other example of incorrect rendering that may be here noted, and for which possibly our translators have been too much blamed, and that is the liberty they took in rendering the same Greek word by different English words. In this they followed earlier versions, particularly that of Tyndale. In their preface they justify themselves as having an eye to style, and singularly enough, to the claims of individual English words.<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt but that the genius of our language demands something of this variety. Neither is there any doubt but that in yielding to this demand and introducing a variety of synonymous words, our English Bible has exercised a happy influence upon our language, by thus adding to the stock of words in common use. And yet it is equally certain, that the force of expression which comes from repetition, has been too often sacrificed for the sake of this variety in style. "Thus, it will sometimes happen," says Trench, "that when St. Paul is pursuing a close train of reasoning, and one which demands severest attention, the difficulties of his argument, not small in themselves, are aggravated by the use of different words where he has used the same; the word being sometimes the very key of the whole."<sup>2</sup> So that, while no plea for variety can justify seventeen different renderings of the same Greek word, (as seen below,) yet our translators did well in avoiding a mechanical monotony. And even Dean Trench closes his interesting chapter on this subject by saying: "I would not for an instant imply that in all these places (referring to an extended collation of passages), one and the same English word could have been employed, but only that the variety might have been much smaller than it is."<sup>3</sup> The following examples were for the most part suggested by Trench:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See page 336, above.

<sup>2</sup> Trench *on Revision of N. T.*, p. 72. N. Y., 1853.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> The citations are from a Black Letter copy of the *A. V.*, 1613.

- Matt. IX. 25. . . he went in, and *tooke* her by the hand. The Greek word rendered here *tooke* is translated in Matt. xii. 11, *lay hold on*; xviii. 28, *laid hands on*; xxvi. 48, *hold fast*. xxviii. 9, *held*; Mark ix. 10, *kept*. John xx. 23, *retained*; and in Acts xxvii. 13, *obtained*.
- Luke XIII. 7. . . cut it downe, why *cumbreth* it the ground. The Greek term here translated *cumbreth*, is rendered in other connections by sixteen other English words, as follows: Rom. iii. 3, *make without effect*, 31, *make void*; iv. 14, *made of none effect*; vi. 6, *be destroyed*; vii. 2, *is loosed*; 8, *deliuered*; I. Cor. i. 28, *to bring to nought*; xiii. 10, *be done away*; 11, *put away*; xv. 24, *put down*; II. Cor. iii. 13, *is abolished*. Also I. Cor. ii. 6, *come to nought*; xiii. 8, *shall fail*; and, *shall vanish away*; Gal. v. 4, *is become of no effect*; 11, *ceased*.
- John XX. 25. . . and put my finger into the print of the nailes,<sup>1</sup> and *thrust* my hand into his side. The Greek word here translated *put*, and *thrust*, is one, and is so translated in the Genevan version.
- Acts XVII. 18, 23. . . He seemeth to be a *setter forth* of strange gods. In verse 23, the Apostle uses the same word, and his retort would have been more forcible if our translators had rendered it: him *set I forth*; instead of, him *declare I* unto you. Again in verse 23, there is an etymological connection between the Greek words translated *unknown*, and *ignorantly*, which might have been preserved.
- Rom. V. 11. . . by whom wee haue now receiued the *atone-ment*. In chapter xi. 15, and in II. Cor. v. 18, this same word in the original, is rendered, *reconciling*, and *reconciliation*. In so important a doctrinal word, it would seem that uniformity in rendering ought to have been preserved.
- I. Cor. XV. 24, 28. This passage, which indicates the coming of the end of Christ's mediatorial kingdom, and "affords a glimpse," as Eadie happily expresses it, "of what may be called Christian pantheism as the ultimate result that God may be all in all," furnishes also an example of emphatic repetition, the force of

<sup>1</sup> This first clause is omitted in the second edition of A. V., 1613, from which this collation is made.

which is in part lost in our version. In verses 24 and 26, the same Greek word appears, which is translated in one case, *put downe*, and in the other, *destroyed*. In verses 27, and 28, we find another Greek word occurring six times. In four instances it is translated, *put under*; in the other two instances it appears as *be subdued*, and, *be subject*. If uniformity had been preserved in these cases, it would have added strength and solemnity to the whole passage.

II. Cor. V. 10. For wee must all *appeare* before the judgement seat of Christ. In the next verse, the word here translated *appear*, is repeated twice, and in both instances is translated: *made manifest*.

I. Pet. II. 4, 5. To whom comming as unto a liuing Stone. . . .  
Ye also as *liuely* stones, are built up a spirituall house. The words *living* and *lively*, translate the same Greek word.<sup>1</sup>

An opposite error to the above, though not of so frequent occurrence, finds a place in our English version. It consists in rendering several Greek words by a single English word. This fault may arise sometimes from the poverty of our language compared with the Greek, though not always, by any means. A few familiar examples are here inserted:

Matt. XXII. 1-14. In this passage of the marriage of the king's son, the word *seruants*, is used to indicate those who invite the guests, as in verses 3, 4, 6 and 8; also to indicate those who put out such as have not on a wedding garment, as in verse 13. But in the Greek text the words are different. The Genevan version rightly preserves the distinction by rendering the Greek words respectively *servants* and *ministers*.

XXVI. 10. . . . he said vnto them, Why *trouble* ye the woman? Dean Trench calls attention to the fact, that "there are no less than ten Greek words

<sup>1</sup> Compare Trench *on Glossary of English Words*, p. 113. For an extended illustration of this subject, see Lightfoot *on Revision of N. T.*, pp. 46-65. N. Y., 1873. Also Eadie's *English Bible*, II., 383-416.

or phrases which it (the word trouble) is employed by them (our translators) to render." And he significantly adds in the same connection that though "the English language may not be so rich in synonyms as the Greek ; but with 'vex,' 'harass,' 'disturb,' 'distress,' 'afflict,' 'disquiet,' 'unsettle,' 'burden,' 'terrify'; almost every one of which would in one of the above places or other seem to be more appropriate than the word actually employed, I cannot admit that the poverty or limited resources of our language left no choice here."<sup>1</sup>

Luke XII. 5.

Feare him, which after hee hath killed, hath power to cast into *hell*. Here the Greek word is *γέεννα*, that is, Gehenna, "the place of punishment in Hades or the world of the dead." In Acts ii. 31, we read: that his soule was not left in *hell*. Here the Greek word is *ᾗδov*, that is, Hades, the under world or place of the dead without reference to happiness or misery. The rendering of these two distinct Greek words by the same English word creates in this example serious confusion.

John XXI. 15-17.

In this passage we have a familiar example of two Greek words translated by one English word, and consequently a nice distinction is lost. When Jesus said ; Simon sonne of Jonas, *louest* thou mee more then these? he used a term expressive of *respectful love*. But Peter in his reply, Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I *loue* thee, used a term expressing *personal affection*; so in the second address of the Savior and the reply of Peter. But when Jesus said the third time ; *louest* thou me? he used Peters word expressive of *personal affection*. Again in this same passage one English word is made to do service for two Greek words. In the first and in the third charge given to Peter, the word in the original is the same, and is translated *feed*. But in the second charge the Greek word is different and means *to care for as a shepherd, to tend*, but it is here translated as before, *feed*.

<sup>1</sup> Trench on *Bible Revision*, p. 96. New York, 1858.

Rev. IV. 6. . . . and round about the Throne, were *four beasts* full of eyes before and behind. These *living creatures*, as the Greek signifies, which are represented as giving glory and honor and thanks to him that sat on the Throne, are very different from the beasts spoken of in chapter xiii. 1 and 11, which are described as speaking like dragons and deceiving those who dwell upon the earth by false miracles. This important distinction is unfortunately effaced in our translation.

Punctuation being the work of revisers and printers, it is natural to suppose that it might become a fruitful source of error. But such care has been taken that serious errors are comparatively few. Our translators followed the Masoretic pointing, and in some cases unwittingly adopted their errors. A remarkable example of this is found in Dan. ix. 25, in which a *semicolon* in the hands of these Jewish editors changed the meaning of a Messianic prophecy. By inserting the *semicolon* after the words, *seven weeks*, they cut off the *three score and two weeks*, thus making "the prophecy wholly unserviceable to the Christian."<sup>1</sup> Our modern Bibles uniformly follow the punctuation of the earliest editions. But the following examples are exceptions:

Dan. IX. 25. Know therefore and vnderstand, (*that*) from the going forth of the commandement to restore and to build Jerusalem, vnto the Messiah the Prince, (*shall bee*) *seuen weekes*; and threescore and two weekes, the streete shall be built againe, and the wall, euen in troublous times. So pointed in the earliest editions of King James' Bible, also in some of the earlier versions, as Coverdale's and Cranmer's Bibles. But in the editions of the Genevan and Bishops' versions, *commas* only are used. And in our modern Bibles the *semicolon* is placed, as doubtless it ought to be, at the end of the phrase, *three score and two weeks*; as this pointing agrees with

<sup>1</sup> Watson's *Theological Tracts*, III., 14.

the context, and the fulfilment of the prophecy as referring to the Messiah.

Luke XXIII. 32. And there were also two other malefactors led with him, to be put to death. So pointed in the editions of the Authorized version of 1611 and 1613, by which unintentionally Jesus is classed with the malefactors. Our modern Bibles follow some later edition which placed *commas* after the words *other* and *malefactors*, which pointing changes the meaning materially. Whittingham's version of N. T. 1557, reads: And there were two others which were evil doers led with him to be slain.

Rev. IV. 11. . . . for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created. So pointed in the earliest editions of the Authorized version. But in our modern Bibles the change is for the worse, which read: . . . and for thy pleasure they are and were created. This lack of punctuation fails to bring out the two distinct propositions.

XIII. 8. And all that dwell vpon the earth, shall worship him, whose names are not written in the booke of life of the Lambe, slaine from the foundation of the world. This pointing connects, *from the foundation of the world*, with, *the Lambe slaine*. Our modern Bibles for the most part have no pointing at all, leaving it an open question whether the phrase, *from the foundation of the world*, is to be connected with, *slaine*, or *written*. The former is the most obvious, and is sustained by reference to I. Peter i. 19-20.<sup>1</sup>

Though King James' Bible as a translation was by no means perfect, yet it surpassed all other preceding English versions. By its inherent worth it attained a pre-eminence and consequent protracted influence which places it as a version alongside of Jerome's Vulgate and Luther's Bible. For if "the translation of the Bible into Latin created an epoch altogether new in that language, constituting a late, and in some in-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Alford's *Commentary*, *in loco*.



stances, a rich aftercrop of Latin literature";<sup>1</sup> and if Luther in translating the Bible into German, "created the modern German language as an instrument of literature";<sup>2</sup> somewhat so our early English versions influenced our literature and our language. And it is eminently true of the revisers of King James' Bible that, in the midst of a Latin period, they reaffirmed the Saxon element of the language, and re-established the standard set up by William Tyndale, which has stood for two and a half centuries, and bids fair to stand for centuries to come, whatever of minor changes may come to the translation by way of revision, or to its language by way of natural growth and decay.

In the bold front presented by English versions of the Bible against the influx of Latin words during the long period beginning in the reign of Henry VIII., culminating in that of Elizabeth, and extending to the restoration of Charles II., we have an illustration of their inherent power and conservating force. Dean Swift, in a letter to the Earl of Oxford, 1711, wrote: "The period wherein the English tongue received most improvement I take to commence with the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, and to conclude with the great Rebellion in forty-two."<sup>3</sup> And this was the period of Bible ascendancy in England; the period when the Genevan version became the Bible of the people. For fifty years this version stood comparatively alone, and when King James' version was put into circulation, for almost forty years these two Bibles stood together and exerted a power in common for the preservation of the Saxon element of our English tongue. "During the usurpation," says Swift, "such an infusion of enthusiastic jargon prevailed in every writing, as was not shaken off in many years after. To this succeeded that licentiousness which entered with the Restoration, and, from infecting our religion and morals, fell to corrupt our language."<sup>4</sup> Single-

<sup>1</sup> Schlegel's *History of Ancient and Modern Literature*, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Froude's *Short Studies*, etc. Series III., 131. 1877. New York, 1877.

<sup>3</sup> *Works*, p. 491. Edinburgh, 1873.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 491.

handed King James' Bible, with its Saxon element in language, withstood this new "species of barbarism" which sought to overwhelm the English tongue, in the form of "a French ascendancy of the very worst description."<sup>1</sup> This struggle in its violence continued for a hundred and fifty years, even to the close of the seventeenth century. Again during the first half of the eighteenth century, so far as our language had become affected by this "Latinized or Gallicized style," King James' Bible with its Saxon element firmly withstood it. In the same letter quoted above, the Dean says: "It is your lordship's observation, that if it were not for the Bible and Common Prayer Book in the vulgar tongue, we should hardly be able to understand any thing that was written among us a hundred years ago; which is certainly true: for those books, being perpetually read in churches, have proved a kind of standard for language, especially to the common people."<sup>2</sup> Only in the light of history can we understand this influence of English versions of the Bible, and intelligently recognize the fact, that through their conserving power, we are to-day in language nearer the age of Chaucer than those who lived and wrote a hundred years ago. "I am fully persuaded," says Trench, "that so far as intelligibility is concerned, Chaucer is not merely as near but nearer to us than he was felt by Dryden and his cotemporaries to be to them."

The importance to be attached to this influence is, that our English Bible, in its various versions, has not only furnished a standard of language for the purpose of literature, but it has done its share in preserving that element of our language which is of the people, and for the people. The Latin language, in its nature and relations, is the representative of Empire, and lives in the interests of aristocracy; while our Saxon tongue, in its nature and relations, is the representative of true democracy, and lives in the interests of the family and

<sup>1</sup> Schlegel's *History of Literature*, p. 278. Bohn's ed.

<sup>2</sup> Swift's *Works*, p. 493.

the people. If this is true politically, it is much more so religiously. The Papal hierarchy understood this, and hence its persecution of the poor Lollards for reading the Manuscript Bible of Wycliffe. William Tyndale understood this when, inspired with a desire to preach the Gospel to the people, he learned that nothing could be done effectually so long as the Scriptures were locked up in the Latin tongue; and hence his resolution to translate the New Testament into the vernacular of the people. The burning of these printed New Testaments by the hierarchy shows that it fully understood the tendency of the Saxon tongue. And so the history of the Romish Church in adopting and insisting upon the Latin as the language of Church worship, as well as of the Scriptures, shows that she regarded the Latin language as one with the interests of the papacy. So dependent is Rome upon the Latin tongue that Milman declares, that "the abrogation of the Latin as the exclusive language of Christian letters and arts must be inevitably and eventually the doom of Latin Christianity."<sup>1</sup>

Contrary to the expectation of the revisers, King James' Bible became, as the Genevan version had been before it, the Bible of the people.<sup>2</sup> And as it is to-day, so it has been during all these years, the Book of the nursery, an ever-fruitful source of stories to mothers for their children; the Book of maturer childhood and still riper years; the Book of orators and poets, who, with no personal interest in its religious teaching, have admired and read it for the sake of its forcible English. Our English Bible brings to us neither the style or English of the age of James I., but the English spoken a hundred years before his time; when as yet the language was written as it was spoken in its comparative simplicity. It is true that not a few words of Latin derivation belonged to the English of Tyndale's time, and were introduced by him into his translation and have come down to us in our English

<sup>1</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, VIII., 334. New York, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> The design according to Galloway's account was, that the new Bible was "only to be used in all Churches of England in time of divine service." See page 327, above.

Bible, but these were already naturalized, and were a part of the English tongue, and in many instances dated their adoption to a period before the time of Chaucer and Wycliffe. Some of these words were received from the Latin through the Vulgate, while others were from the Latin through the Norman French. Few pure Latinisms were adopted along the line of revision from Tyndale, 1525, or even from Wycliffe, 1380, to James I., 1611.<sup>1</sup> Very many words ending in *ation*, in form the most objectionable, and it would seem the last to be adopted, are traceable to Wycliffe, and some to Tyndale, leaving about a third that appeared for the first time in the Rheims and Authorized versions. The words *abomination*, Luke xvi. 15; *desolation*, xxi. 20; *generation*, Acts ii. 40; *dissension*, xv. 2; *divination*, xvi. 16; *temptation*, I. Cor. x. 13; and *ministration*, II. Cor. iii. 7, are found in Wycliffe. The words *lamentation*, Acts viii. 2; *exhortation*, Rom. xii. 8; *foundation*, xv. 20; *redemption*, I. Cor. i. 30; *administrations*, xii. 5; *interpretation*, —. 10; *resurrection*, xv. 13; and *imagination*, II. Cor. x. 5, belong to Tyndale. While the words *consultation*, Mark xv. 1; *expectation*, Rom. viii. 19; *demonstration*, I. Cor. ii. 4; *communication*, xv. 33; *manifestation*, II. Cor. iv. 2; and *reconciliation*, v. 18, were first introduced either in the Rheims or the Authorized version. The above examples are made up largely of theological terms, and were with a few exceptions adopted from the Vulgate.

Instead of adopting Latinisms, the design of the revisers of the English Bible has been from the first to replace such terms by words more easily understood by the people. If, therefore, Coverdale translated the phrase in Isaiah liii. 1: But who giueth *credence* vnto our preaching; though this rendering held its place in the Great Bible, of which Coverdale was the chief reviser, yet the Genevan version reads: Who will *believe* our report; which is followed by the Authorized version. Again, if Tyndale translated Matt. ix. 18, . . . my

<sup>1</sup> The Rheims *version* excepted.

doghter is euen now *deceased* ; the reading was changed in the Authorized version to, . . . is euen now *dead*. Again, if Tyndale very commonly used the word *fortuned*, as in Luke vi. 6, the Geneyan version, 1557, changed it to *came to passe* ; and was followed by the Authorized version. So the word *recompence*, of Tyndale, in Luke x. 35, is changed to *repay*, in the Authorized version. As an ever-present standard, therefore, of pure English, it is almost impossible to estimate aright the silent and continued influence of the English Bible upon the English language in the past as well as in the present, since to-day it furnishes as no other book, the result of three and a half centuries, or rather five centuries, of growth of the English tongue.

Besides our English Bible sustains an intimate relation to English literature as a stimulator of thought, as well as a standard of pure English. A large proportion of books published are occasioned by the presence of the Bible ; a book ancient in its writings, but modern in its influence. We live in an age in which science claims the leadership, and theology and the Bible are regarded as things of the past. Yet current literature, outside of that which is professedly religious, boldly unfurls its sails on the broad sea of theology. The platform and the daily press deal continually with religious questions, either as friends or enemies of the Bible. And one reason is, that these questions lie at the foundation of human destiny and duty, and find their solution only in the Sacred Scriptures. Not only in the present, but in all the past of English literature, the influence of the Bible is easily traced. The arts of painting and music are not more indebted to the Bible for their inspiration than is English literature for its range and expression. This is true of Milton, but is it true of Shakespeare ? He was the poet of nature rather than of the Bible. He drew his inspiration from the pagan spirit of the Elizabethan age rather than the religious spirit of the Holy Scriptures. And yet had not the profound thoughts of the Bible been grafted into the public sentiment and morals of that age, the poetry of Shakespeare would have been impos-

sible. Shakespeare's poetry neither dogmatizes nor skeptically doubts concerning the teachings of the Scriptures. Among the prominent errors of the Puritans was their hatred of Shakespeare's poetry. In their ideals they limited not only government but literature. But poetry as an art finds a broad field in nature, and though it is *unreligious*, that is, purely natural, yet it is not necessarily *irreligious*. Shakespeare entered into the hidden depths of this field, and his profound sympathy with nature forms the grand element of his poetry. "This peculiar element of Shakspeare's poetry," says Schlegel, "still remains as a characteristic of modern art, and will yet obtain a fuller development when a higher poetry shall no longer represent the superficial aspects of every day life, but the secret life of the soul, in man as well as in Nature."<sup>1</sup> The greatest charge, if charge must be brought against Shakespeare, is, that he places before us the profound questions of human destiny, and leaves them unsolved, as doubtless nature's interpreter ought to have done.

Wycliffe, Tyndale, and Coverdale, and those who followed them as translators or revisers of the English Bible, wrought better than they knew, not only for the English language, but for evangelical religion. The theory of the Romish Church has been that the Bible should be preached, hence their opposition to the Scriptures in the vernacular of the people; while the theory and practice of the Protestant Church has been that the Bible should be both read and preached, and hence the multiplication of Vernacular versions. Protestantism and an open Bible go hand in hand. We have already seen how the spirit of true religion was kept alive for a century and a half by the reading of the Manuscript Bible of Wycliffe. Also how this same spirit was fanned into a new flame by the printed New Testaments of Tyndale. And so with our eye upon the page of history, it is possible to trace the underlying influence of the English Scriptures from that day to this.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Literature*, p. 272. London, 1873.

If during the sixteenth century political and ecclesiastical authority were united under Queen Elizabeth, in seeking to make religion the handmaid of the State, and if there followed closely upon this such a change, that a religious enthusiasm, guided by a false ideal, sought to make the State but the handmaid of religion, as did the Puritans, the occasion of the but partial success of the former, and the signal failure of the latter attempt, may be found, in part at least, in the fact of a free and open Bible. It was the English Bible in the hands of the people during this period, that permeated society with the purity of Puritanism, and established the Christian sabbath with its civilizing influences, and gave large growth to the spirit of freedom, which withstood the encroachments of both Church and State. And though from first to last Puritanism abused its birthright, by seeking temporal rather than spiritual authority, and though society experienced a sad reaction from the excesses of Puritanism, and though the liberal part of the Church suffered sad reverses under the Romish rule of Laud; yet the open Bible remained, all that was worthy in Puritanism remained, and the undercurrent of spirituality remained.<sup>1</sup> It is the living waters of this spiritual stream, which flowed down the centuries, and arose afresh in the times of the Reformation, growing wider and deeper, now concealing itself and now coming to the surface, as in the eighteenth century in the times of the Wesleys and Whitfields, that refreshes us in these latter days, and all because the English Bible during these years has been open to the people.

<sup>1</sup> "The Puritans gained credit as the King (James I.) and the Bishops lost it, . . . . They took more pains in their parishes, than those who adhered to the Bishops, and were often preaching against the vices of the Court; for which they were sometimes punished, tho' very gently, . . . They begun some particular methods of getting their people to meet privately with them; And in these meetings they gave great vent to extemporary prayer, which was looked on as a sort of inspiration; And by these means they grew very popular."—Burnet's *Hist. of his Own Time*, I, 17. 1724.

While special care was taken by the publishers of English Bibles to prevent errors, and they were so careful in reprinting that typographical errors descended from edition to edition,<sup>1</sup> yet for half a century or more the text of the Authorized version suffered at the hands of the printers. The typographical errors of the first edition (1611) were neither few nor unimportant. The following may be taken as examples :

- Ex. XXXVIII. 11. . . . the *hoopes* of the pillars; for, *hooks*.  
 Lev. XVII. 14. . . . Yee *shall not* eate the blood; for,  
                                   Ye *shall* eat.  
 Ezek. VI. 8. . . . that *he* may haue; for, *ye* may  
                                   have.  
           XXIV. 7. . . . she powred it vpon the ground;  
                                   for, poured it *not*.  
 Matt. VI. 3. . . . let not thy left hand know what  
                                   thy right doeth; for, right *hand* doeth.  
 I. Cor. XIV. 23. . . . the whole church be come together  
                                   into *some* place; for, into *one* place.

The above examples of errors in typography, with the exception of the last, were corrected in the edition of 1613; and yet the edition of 1613 was singularly fruitful in the same kind of errors, of which the following are examples :

- Lev. VII. 25. For whosoever eateth the *fast* of the beast; for, the  
                                   *fat* of the beast.  
           XIX. 10. And thou shalt gleane thy vineyard; for, thou shalt  
                                   *not*.  
           XXVI. 24. Then will I also *wake* contrary vnto you; for, *walk*  
                                   contrary unto you,  
 Deut. XIX. 5. . . . *helme*; for, *helve*.  
 Neh. X. 31. . . . and (that) wee would *not* leaue; for,  
                                   would leave.  
 Job XXIX. 3. When his candle shined vpon my head, and (*when*)  
                                   by his light I *shined* through darknesse; for, I  
                                   *walked (through)* darkness.  
 I. Cor. IV. 9. . . . as it were *aproued* to death; for,  
                                   *appointed* to death.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiii. 24, . . . strain *at* a gnat. Also I. Cor. xii. 28, . . . helps  
*in* governments.



XI. 17. Now in this that I declare (*unto you*) I *praise you* that you come together not for the better, but for the worse; for, I *praise you not*.

Heb. XII. 1. . . . and let vs runne with patience *unto the race*; for, *the race* that is set before us.

On account of such inaccuracies, the earliest were by no means standard editions of the Authorized version. In 1629 a praiseworthy effort was made towards a needful revision of the Authorized version, and many corrections were made; but in subsequent editions typographical errors were continually occurring. In 1632 an edition of a thousand copies was printed by Barker and Lucas, in which the word *not* was left out of the seventh commandment. This fact soon became known, the printers were fined, and the whole impression called in.<sup>1</sup> In 1638 there was a loud call for a corrected edition of the English Bible, which was responded to by Buck and Daniel. Their edition is said to have been put forth by the king's command, and that several of the most learned men of Cambridge were engaged in its preparation. This was the edition, probably, that Buck and Daniel challenged the public at Cambridge by a bill placed over the door of St. Mary's Church, "that if any scholar could find any literal fault in it, he should have a Bible for his pains."<sup>2</sup> While many corrections were made by this edition, and consequently it was held in the highest estimation as the "authentique corrected Bible," yet it introduced a notable error in Acts vi. 3, . . . whom *ye*, instead of, . . . whom *we* may appoint. This error appeared in several subsequent editions of the Bible, and was not corrected till about the year 1685. As this change from *we* to *ye* favored the Independents, sanctioning the right of the people to appoint their pastors, the charge was made openly against

<sup>1</sup> The king required that the fine lately imposed for base and corrupt printing of the Bible, "being the sum of three hundred pounds," should be used for purchasing Greek type for the printing of Greek Works for the Royal Library.—Townley's *Biblical Literature*, III., 318, 319.

<sup>2</sup> Cotton's *Editions of the Bible in English*, p. 69, note. Oxford, 1852.

Field, the editor of the Pearl Bible (1653), that he received a present of fifteen hundred pounds to corrupt this one text. But the probability is that it was originally a blunder of the printer; for, as Lewis remarks, the first Bible in which it appeared was that of Buck and Daniel, which was revised by the divines of the Church of England, and consequently years before the Pearl Bible was printed.<sup>1</sup>

The printing of Bibles during these years was a matter of competition among publishers. "The secret bibliographical history of these times," says D'Israeli, "would show the extraordinary state of the press in this new trade of Bibles."<sup>2</sup> How much a corrupt age had to do with this mode of corrupting the text of the Scriptures, it is impossible to determine; but the impiety that existed was gross, and it is known to have made use of these corruptions for its base purposes. The notorious Pearl Bible was printed in 1653. The name was derived from its diminutive type, as "it could not derive it from its worth."<sup>3</sup> As an illustration of the gross errors of this edition of the Bible take the following passages as familiar examples:

Rom. VI. 13. Neither yield ye your members as instruments of *righteousness* unto sin.

I. Cor. VI. 9. Know ye not that the unrighteous *shall inherit* the Kingdom of God?

Passages such as these were quoted by libertines as an excuse for the baseness of their lives.<sup>4</sup> This is a sad commentary on the morality of that period. But these shameful abuses were not left to pass unnoticed. In 1656, the Grand Committee for Religion succeeded in suppressing the circulation of thousands of copies of these corrupted Bibles.<sup>5</sup> New editions of the Bible continued to follow each other, containing more or less of typographical errors, with here and there a corrected edition.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Eng. Translations*, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> *Curiosities of Literature*, IV., 350. New York, 1864.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 352.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 352.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Eadie's *Hist. of Eng. Bible*, II., 297.

It is believed that in 1665 Bill and Barker got possession of the manuscript copy of King James' Bible; and having "thus secured themselves from instant detection, they published editions filled with egregious blasphemies and damnable errata."<sup>1</sup> Thus during the closing years of the seventeenth century errors in the text of printed Bibles propagated themselves doubtless through evil intention, but for the most part through carelessness. There was such competition in the trade of printing English Bibles, that publishers paid insufficient salaries for correcting proof; hence incompetent persons were employed. This growing evil at last attracted such public attention that in April, 1724, a royal order was issued, stipulating among other things, that correctors of the press should be employed and regulated salaries allowed them.<sup>2</sup> In the way of a corrected Bible, the most successful edition hitherto was that of Dr. Benj. Blaney, published in 1769. This for many years was regarded as the standard edition. Since so many errors in previous editions had been corrected, he claimed "that the text is reformed to such a standard of purity as is presumed is not to be met with in any other edition hitherto extant."<sup>3</sup> Blaney's Bible, though excellent, compared with previous editions, was surpassed by Eyre and Strahan's Bible of 1806. This edition was regarded "as approaching as near as possible to what bibliographers term *an immaculate text*."<sup>4</sup> Complaints were made, however, as late as 1830, as to the unsatisfactory state of the text of English Bibles; but such complaints were based largely on questions about words printed in italics.<sup>5</sup> In these latter years, therefore, it is a matter of sincere congratulation that public and private enterprise have vied with each other in printing comparatively a correct text of the Bible.

<sup>1</sup> Cotton's *Editions of the Bible in English*, p. 73, note. So far as is known, this MS. is now lost. McClintock & Strong's *Encyclopedia*, Art. *Authorized Version*.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis' *Hist. Eng. Translations*, p. 351.

<sup>3</sup> Eadie's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, II., 304.

<sup>4</sup> Horne's *Introduction*, II., *Eng. Versions*, p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> Eadie's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, II., 306, 307.

The intrinsic worth of our modern English Bibles consists in their substantial oneness with the first edition of 1611. And the excellence of that translation consists in the fact that it was the inheritor of the excellencies of a series of Vernacular versions, especially from the time of Tyndale. With the exception of spelling, which has been from time to time modernized, and a few archaic forms, which have been changed, the text of the Authorized version remains the same. And this fact makes our English Bible of to-day invaluable as an English classic. One of the elements of power and beauty of our English Scriptures is the Hebraic element which has been transfused into its language in the translation. As a matter of fact, the Bible has been translated as no other book. "If I translate," says the learned Selden, "a *French Book into English*, I turn it into *English Phrase*, not into *French-English*, (*Il fait froid*) I say 'tis cold, not, it makes cold; but the Bible is rather translated into *English words* than into *English Phrase*. The *Hebraisms* are kept, and the *Phrase* of that language is kept."<sup>1</sup> Many original metaphors were too high wrought to be transferred. But so much of Hebrew phraseology has been stamped upon our Bible language that a certain charm in its style is traceable to this fact. To such an extent is this true, that some of the Hebrew idioms have become so incorporated in our English tongue that they are regarded as a part of it: while others remain peculiar to the Bible and tend to give to its phraseology an archaic tinge which is by no means displeasing. For example we find such phrases as: *kingdom and glory*, for, glorious kingdom; *bond of perfectness*, for, a perfect bond; *mouth and wisdom*, for, wise utterance; *glory of his power*, for, glorious power; *with desire I have desired*, for, I have greatly desired; *I am the way, the truth and the life*, for, I am the true and living way. Such phrases as: *no good thing will he withhold*; *being not weak in the faith*; *I will not leave you comfortless*, are examples of the negative used for the sake of strong affirma-

<sup>1</sup> *Table Talk*, p. 106. London, 1860.

tion. The peculiar privileges belonging to the first born among the Jews gave rise to the phrase, *first born*, as meaning that which was chief or highest of its kind, as: *the first born of the poor shall feed*; that is, the poorest and the most miserable shall feed. *The first born of death shall devour his strength*; that is, his strength shall be devoured by the most cruel death. *That he might be the first born among many brethren*; that is, "THE SON OF GOD, pre-eminent among those who are by adoption through Him, the sons of God." Again such phrases as: *that believe on the name of Christ*; and *thou hast a few names in Sardis*; are examples in which the word, *name*, is used in the sense of *person*. In like manner the word, *soul*, is used for the personal pronoun I, in the following examples: *in whom my soul is well pleased*; and *my soul shall live because of thee*; *my soul shall have no pleasure in him*. In the highly figurative language of the Hebrews the *edge* of the sword was called its *mouth*; but the metaphor was too oriental to be transferred, so that our translators rendered it *edge*, in such examples as: *they shall fall by the edge of the sword*; *sharper than any two-edged sword*; *escaped the edge of the sword*. In their lack of adjectives, the Hebrews, when they wished to express the superlative of beauty or power, used the phrases, *of God*, and, *of the Lord*. As illustrations we have: *even as the garden of the Lord*, for, beautiful garden; in II. Chron. xiv. 14, *fear of the Lord*, is used for, very great fear; in Psalm xxix, *the voice of the Lord*, means, very loud thunder, as: *the voice of the Lord is upon the waters*; *the voice of the Lord is powerful*; *the voice of the Lord is full of majesty*. The whole Psalm is a sublime description of a thunder-storm. In Psalm xxxvi. 6, the Hebraism, *the mountaines of God*, is placed in the margin; while the text reads: *the great mountaines*.<sup>1</sup>

Besides these Hebraisms there are old English idioms which add quaintness, if not beauty and richness to the tone of our Bible language. Prominent among these is that which was introduced by Tyndale in his translation, 1525, in which the

<sup>1</sup> Compare Horne's *Introduction*, II., P. I., pp. 23-26. London, 1828.

personal pronoun as a nominative was made to follow the verb.<sup>1</sup> Among other antiquated forms there are found archaisms, both in word and phrase, which have become obsolete, and more or less obscure the text. Take the following examples :

- Matt. IX. 2. . . . Son, be of good cheere, thy sinnes *be* forgiuen thee. The *be* forgiven is here an old idiom for, *are* forgiven ; and contains a simple statement of a fact, and not a command.
- Luke XXI. 9. . . . for these things must first come to passe ; but the end is not *by* and *by*. That is, *not immediately*. In accounting for this change in meaning, Trench says, "the inveterate procrastination of men has put '*by* and *by*' farther and farther off."
- Acts II. 23. . . . yee haue taken, and *by* wicked hands, haue crucified, and slaine. The preposition *by*, here is used in the sense of *through*, and the meaning is : not *by their own*, but *through the wicked hands of others*, they have crucified and slain.
- I. Cor. IV. 4. For I know nothing *by* my selfe, yet am I not hereby justified. The *by* is here used in the sense of *against*, and is evidently an old idiomatic use of the word.

Some of the less important archaic forms are : *his* and *her* for *its*, as in Gen. i. 11, . . . after *his* kinde ; Lev. i. 6, . . . and cut into *his* pieces ; Mark ix. 50, . . . if the salt haue lost *his* saltnesse ; I. Cor. xiii. 5, . . . seeketh not *her* owne. Another common archaism is the use of *that* for *that which*, or *what*, as in Luke xix. 21, . . . thou takest vp *that* thou layedst not downe ; John iii. 11, . . . We speake *that* we do know, and testifie *that* we haue seene. Still another form consists in the use of *which* for *who*, as in Rom. i. 3, . . . *which* was made of the seede of Dauid ; according to the flesh.

Obsolete words occur in our modern Bibles, though not as frequently as might be supposed. But as they retain their form and not their meaning, they obscure the text more seriously than Bible readers are generally aware. This is not

<sup>1</sup> See examples above, p. 131.

strange since a majority of these words, in the sense in which they were used, come to us from the age of Tyndale, and are consequently three and a half centuries old. As examples, we have such words as *health*, *prevent*, *quick*, *occupy*, *instantly*, *possess*, *superstitious*, *approved*, *allege*, *damnation*, *do*, *to wit*, *conversation*, *honest*, *letteth*, *nephews*, *peculiar*, as indicated below, together with other words that have changed their meaning since the time of Tyndale :

- Gen. XLV. 6. . . . . in the which there shall neither be *earing* nor haruest. *Earing* means *ploughing*.
- II. Chron. XXI. 20. . . . . and departed without being *desired*. This word is used in the sense of *regretted*.
- Ps. LXVII. 2. . . . . thy *sauing health* among all Nations. This phrase means *salvation*.
- CXIX. 147. . . . . I *preuented* the dawning of the morning, and cryed. This word retains its derivative signification, and means *anticipated* or *went before*.
- CXXIV. 3. Then they had swallowed vs vp *quicke*. *Quick* in the sense of *alive*, not *suddenly*.
- Ezek. XXVII. 16. . . . . they *occupied* in thy faires. This word is used in the sense of *traded*.
- Joel III. 14. Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of *decision*. That is *cutting*, or as the margin reads : *concession*, or *threshing*.
- Matt. VI. 34. Take therefore no *thought* for the morrow. *Thought* in the sense of *over anxiety*.
- XIV. 8. . . . . Giue mee here John Baptists head in a *charger* ; that is, a *large dish* or *platter*.
- Mark VI. 20. For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man, and an holy, and *obserued* him. The margin reads : *kept* him or *saued* him.
- Luke IV. 20. And he closed the booke, and he gaue it againe to the *minister*. That is, to the *keeper of the rolls*, not to the *teacher of the synagogue*.
- VII. 4. . . . . they besought him *instantly* ; in the sense of *urgently*. So in Rom. xii. 12, . . . continuing *instant* in prayer ; that is, *urgent* or *steadfast* in prayer.
- XVIII. 12. . . . . I giue tithes of all that I *possesse* ;

- in the sense of all that I *acquire*, which gives to the passage quite a different meaning.
- Acts II. 22. . . . a man *approved* of God among you ; that is, *proved* or *shown to be*, . . . by miracles, wonders, and signes.
- XVII. 3. Opening and *alleading*, that Christ must needs have suffered and risen againe from the dead. *Alleading* in the sense of *proving*, not simply *declaring*.
22. . . . Ye men of Athens, I perceiue that in all things ye are too *superstitious* ; that is, too *religious*.
- XXI. 15. . . . we tooke vp our *carriages*, and went vp to Hierusalem. This word means *luggage* or *baggage*.
- XXVIII. 15. . . . they came to meete vs as farre as Appii forum, and the three *Tauernes* ; that is, *stores* or *shops*, or rather the name of the station on the Appian way.
- I. Cor. X. 24. . . . but euery man anothers *wealth* ; that is, *well-being*.
- XI. 29. . . . eateth and drinketh *damnation* to himselfe. That is, *judgment* to himselfe. "The *judgment* meant, as is euident from vv. 30-32, is not '*damnation*,' as rendered in our A. V., a mis-translation, which has done infinite mischief." <sup>1</sup>
- II. Cor. VIII. 1. Moreouer brethren, wee *doe you to wit* of the grace of God ; that is, we *make you to know*.
- Phil. III. 20. For our *conuersation* is in heauen. *Conversation* is here used in the sense of *citizenship*. Lord Bacon uses the word in this sense in the following sentence : "A love and desire to sequester a man's selfe, for a higher *conversation*." In Gal. i. 13, the word *conversation* is used in the sense of *personal conduct*, or *tenor of life*.
- IV. 8. . . . whatsoeuer things (are) *honest*. This word is here used in the sense of *honorable*. The margin reads : *venerable*.
15. . . . when I departed from Macedonia, no Church *communicated* with me, as concerning giuing and receiuing ; that is, *shared* with me.

<sup>1</sup> Alford's *New Testament for English Readers*, in loco.



II. Thess. II. 7. For the mystery of iniquity doth already worke :  
 onely he who now *lettelh*, (*will let*). *Lettelh* is  
 here used in the sense of *hindereth*. So in Rom.  
 i. 13 . . . (but was *let* hitherto).

I. Tim. V. 4. But if any widow haue children or *nephewes* ; that  
 is, *grandchildren*.

Titus II. 14. . . . and purifie vnto himselfe a *pecu-  
 lier people*, zealous of good workes. The word  
*peculiar* carries with it the idea of purchased.  
 Luther rendered it, a people *for possession* ; Al-  
 ford reads : a people *peculiarly His*.<sup>1</sup>

James I. 27. Pure *religion* and undefiled . . . is this, to visit the  
 fatherlesse and widowes in their affliction, (*and*)  
 to keepe himselfe vnspotted from the world.  
 The word *religion* here means the outward  
 manifestation rather than the inward principle  
 of godliness. "How little," says Trench, "'re-  
 ligion' once meant godliness, how predominantly  
 it was used for the outward service of God, is  
 plain from many passages in our *Homilies*, and  
 from other cotemporary literature."<sup>2</sup>

The relation of our New Testament text to modern criticism  
 deserves a passing notice. It is known to the general reader  
 that most valuable manuscripts have been discovered since the  
 revision of 1611. There can be no question as to the impor-  
 tance of these manuscripts in the formation of a pure Greek  
 text. We cannot, therefore, place too high an estimate upon  
 the labors of such scholars as Lachmann, Tischendorf, Alford,  
 Tregelles and others, whose conscientious efforts in the study  
 of ancient manuscripts have been, not to criticise the word of  
 God, in the sense of adding to or taking from the text a single  
 word, but to determine what rightly belongs to the original  
 text. In other words, their aim has been, by a diligent com-  
 parison of the oldest manuscripts,<sup>3</sup> as well as other authorities,

<sup>1</sup> Alford's *New Testament for English Readers*, in *loco*.

<sup>2</sup> *English Past and Present*, p. 143. New York, 1855.

<sup>3</sup> The manuscripts of the Greek New Testament number some fifteen  
 hundred. Those written earlier than the tenth century are in *uncial* or  
*capital* letters ; and those written later are in the *cursive* or *running*

to reproduce a Greek text as near as possible to the original autograph copies of the several books of the New Testament. This is no new enterprise on the part of Biblical scholars. The Jews exercised a scrupulous care over the very words of

*hand*, a letter resembling the type of ordinary Greek books. Less than a hundred of these manuscripts were written before the year 800. The following five are among the oldest, and consequently in textual criticism are esteemed of the greatest importance :

(A.) THE CODEX ALEXANDRINUS.—To this codex tradition assigns the year 350 as the date ; but probably the true date is nearer 450. It is an uncial manuscript of " the entire Greek Bible with the Epistle of Clement added, and is written in a firm square hand. It was presented by Cyril Lucaris, the patriarch of Alexandria, to Charles I. of England in 1628 ; and is now in the British Museum. The manuscript is on parchment and in quarto form. The New Testament portion was published in facsimile by Dr. Woide in 1786. A reprint in Greek type was published by Mr. Cowper in 1860.

(B.) THE CODEX VATICANUS.—This manuscript is supposed to date back to the year 350, and is therefore a hundred years older than the Alexandrine Codex. The letters resemble those of the MSS. rolls found at Herculeaneum, and are capitals or uncials without initial letters. Little is known of the early history of this manuscript. It seems to have had a place in the archives of the Vatican Library from its first founding, which was about the year 1450. At least it appears in the first catalogue of that collection, which dates from the year 1475. The policy of the papacy has been to deny to Biblical scholars the free use of this manuscript. In 1810 it was carried off by Napoleon to Paris, but was returned again by Wellington after the battle of Waterloo. Imperfect collations of this manuscript were made to meet the demands of Biblical scholars, but were of no critical value until 1868, when an excellent edition of the New Testament was published by Vercellone and Cozza, by the consent and authority of the pope, and printed with type " cast from the same font that was made for the Codex Sinaiticus, and in the style of Tischendorf's edition of that MS."

(C.) THE CODEX EPHRÆMI.—This manuscript is what is called a *rescript* or *palimpsest*—that is, the original writing was defaced and the sermons of Ephraim Syrus written upon it. The manuscript was brought, early in the sixteenth century, from Italy to France by Catherine de Medici, as a volume of Ephraim's sermons. In 1650 the discovery was made that the parchment originally contained the text of the Holy Scriptures. After several unsuccessful attempts, Tischendorf in 1841-42 succeeded by the application of chemicals in bringing out the original

the Old Testament Scriptures. And since the middle of the third century something of this same care has been exercised by Christian scholars over both the Old and New Testament. Origen's motive in editing the Hexapla in the third century

writing. In 1843 he made an accurate reprint of the original text. Authorities are divided as to its age, but its probable date is A. D. 450. It is preserved in the archives of the Royal Library at Paris.

(D.) THE CODEX BEZÆ.—This manuscript was presented to the Library of Cambridge University by Theodore Beza in 1581. Beza discovered it at the sack of Lyons in 1562, in the monastery of St. Irenæus. It contains only the historical books of the New Testament. It is said to abound in interpolations, especially in the book of Acts. The manuscript belongs to the latter part of the fifth, or the beginning of the sixth century. It was reprinted by Dr. Kipling in two volumes in 1793; also by Dr. Scrivener in 1864.

(N.) THE CODEX SINAITICUS.—Because of the interest attached to the discovery of this manuscript by Tischendorf, an extended account is here given, abridged from his "Narrative of the Discovery," as translated and published by the London Religious Tract Society and republished by the American Tract Society, New York. Tischendorf says: "It was at the foot of Mount Sinai, in the convent of St. Catherine, that I discovered the pearl of all my researches. In visiting the library of the monastery, in the month of May, 1844, I perceived in the middle of the great hall a large and wide basket full of old parchments. . . . What was my surprise to find among this heap of papers a considerable number of sheets of a copy of the Old Testament in Greek, which seemed to me to be one of the most ancient that I had ever seen. The authorities of the convent allowed me to possess myself of a third of these parchments, or about forty-five sheets, all the more readily as they were destined for the fire. But I could not get them to yield up possession of the remainder. The too lively satisfaction which I had displayed, had aroused their suspicions as to the value of this manuscript." In a second visit made by Tischendorf in 1853 he could discover no further traces of the treasure of 1844, excepting "a little fragment which, written over on both sides, contained eleven short lines of the first book of Moses," which convinced him that the manuscript originally contained the whole of the Old Testament.

In January, 1859, he made a third visit to this convent of St. Catherine. After spending some days in a comparatively fruitless search, he gave orders on the 4th of February to his Bedouins to hold themselves in readiness to set out for Cairo on the 7th, "when an entirely unexpected

was for the sake of a correct text. Jerome's purpose in the latter part of the fourth century in revising 'the Vulgate, or rather in comparing the Latin text of Aquila with the original Hebrew, was to reproduce a correct Latin text. The motives of Jerome were at the time called in question, but after ages have learned to appreciate his motives and his wisdom, and now stand ready to do him honor. In later times (1654-1657) Brian Walton was moved by the same purpose in publishing his Polyglott, which proved the occasion of an extended and

circumstance," he says, "carried me at once to the goal of all my desires. On the afternoon of this day, I was taking a walk with the steward of the convent in the neighborhood, and as we returned towards sunset, he begged me to take some refreshment with him in his cell. Scarcely had he entered the room when, resuming our former subject of conversation, he said, 'And I too have read a Septuagint, i.e. a copy of the Greek translation made by the Seventy'; and so saying, he took down from the corner of the room a bulky kind of volume wrapped up in a red cloth, and laid it before me. I unrolled the cover, and discovered, to my great surprise, not only those very fragments which, fifteen years before, I had taken out of the basket, but also other parts of the Old Testament, the New Testament complete, and in addition, the Epistle of Barnabas and a part of the Pastor of Hermas." After many unsuccessful attempts during several months, to get possession of this invaluable treasure, he says: "On the 27th of September, I returned to Cairo. The monks and archbishops then warmly expressed their thanks for my zealous efforts in their cause; and the following day I received from them, under the form of a loan, the Sinaitic Bible, to carry it to St. Petersburg, and there to have it copied as accurately as possible." However, it was at Leipzig, at the end of three years, that he completed the task of "producing a *fac-simile* copy of this codex in four folio volumes." The edition was limited to three hundred copies, four of which are in this country. Single copies may be found in the Union Theological Seminary and Astor Libraries, New York; Congressional Library, Washington; and Lane Theological Seminary Library, Cincinnati. The types were cast for this special work and in imitation of the form of the letters of the manuscript. This printed *fac-simile* of the Sinaitic manuscript "represents the original line for line, with the greatest attainable accuracy." The Codex Sinaiticus is probably the oldest of the known manuscripts of the New Testament; or possibly it may be of the same age with the Codex Vaticanus, and date back to the middle of the fourth century.

bitter controversy. So, likewise, when Mill, in 1707, and Bengel, in 1734, published their Greek texts of the New Testament, they were misunderstood and their motives impugned. While, therefore, a false jealousy has existed respecting the labors of critical editors of the Greek text, it is comforting to know that the day of false alarm has passed, since one of the results of textual criticism is the confirming of our faith in the general integrity of the Greek text from which our English version was taken, and so far our confidence in it as a Vernacular version. At the same time we are led to accept of the Holy Scriptures as being human as well as Divine. They proceed from Deity, and hence are of Divine authority. Too much stress cannot be laid upon this point, and yet they touch humanity. This human side of the Bible consists in the fact that its revelation is to man and through man, involving not only the imperfect medium of the human mind, but written language, and its transmission by copyists of different countries and different centuries, involving likewise the unavoidable imperfections of Vernacular versions. Now a comprehensive view of all that is implied in this human side of the Holy Scriptures will welcome with joy every honest effort towards purity of the original text, and consequent correctness of Vernacular versions. Especially when we are assured that after the widest comparison of Greek manuscripts, though various readings abound, yet many of these are about as important to the sense of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures "as the question in English orthography is, whether the word *honour* shall be spelled with a *u* or without it"; while the remainder are so unimportant that "not one doctrine of religion is changed, not one precept is taken away, not one important fact is altered by the whole of the various readings collectively taken."

"It is difficult," says Tregelles, "to explain the subject of the text of the New Testament in such a manner as not to be misunderstood. . . . . If, then, it be said, that transcribers have so altered the books of the New Testament that they are wholly different from what they once were,—if it be alleged

that the doctrines laid down in it have been changed by design or by ignorance,—the assertion may be met with a direct negative. We may point to the ancient MSS. of different countries in proof that the substantial texture of the books has not been tampered with by any fraud; we may turn to the ancient versions as witnesses of the same facts. And, as to the observed various readings, we may show that they *commonly* relate to the order of words, to synonymous expressions, and the like. When greater variations, such as the insertion or non-insertion of sentences, are objected, then we must say, ‘Well, it is a question to be determined, not by previously formed opinions, but by evidence.’.....If, then, we find that the words are not found in the oldest MSS., if they are equally excluded from the versions, and if the early writers do not cite them, then of course we must know that this is not a debatable point, but that we possess that certainty which clear lines of distinct evidence can give. An objector cannot say that he has thus extruded a doctrine from the New Testament, for there is not a single point of dogmatic teaching which rests merely on any one passage of doubtful authenticity, or such as is infirm as to evidence.”<sup>1</sup> These are the calm words of one who devoted his life to the cause of textual criticism.

But with all due respect for the conscientious and almost herculean labors of eminent scholars in this department of Bible study, and with true gratitude for their unquestionable service to the cause of truth, it seems ungenerous to say that their enthusiasm in the study of ancient manuscripts so swayed their judgments, as to lead them to give undue weight to this one source of evidence; and yet something of this feeling is springing up among Biblical scholars and thinking men. The following is a brief summary of some of the facts, and second thoughts of scholars, respecting the importance of textual criticism, and the relative authority of the oldest manuscripts:

<sup>1</sup> *Historic Evidences of the Books of the N. T., App.*, pp. 100, 101. London, 1852.

- (a.) Biblical Archæology affords no trace of the autographic copies of the New Testament writings of the Apostles. Our earliest manuscripts date back only to about the middle of the fourth century.
- (b.) There existed imperfections in the Greek text before the most ancient manuscripts, now known, were transcribed. So that after all these earliest manuscripts may represent only a version of the text as it then existed, formed possibly under peculiar circumstances, and limited in circulation as to locality.
- (c.) Though some of the later manuscripts, on paleographic grounds, may be assigned to a very late period, yet they may have been copied from the most correct manuscripts of a very early period. Though this may be mere conjecture, yet in forming an unbiased judgment it is deserving of consideration. Besides, one of the leading principles of textual criticism is that, "*The ancient text is often preserved substantially in recent copies.*" The importance of the later manuscripts "has been most strangely neglected, and it is but recently that their true claims to authority have been known."
- (d.) Some of our ancient versions are centuries older than our oldest manuscripts, hence their importance as a source of textual criticism.
- (e.) There are strong evidences in favor of doubtful texts deducible from quotations and written testimony of the Church Fathers, that ought not to be overlooked.
- (f.) Tischendorf, in the seventh edition of his Greek Testament, was less influenced by ancient manuscripts; though, it is said, in the eighth edition he attached the highest importance to them as authority.
- (g.) Tischendorf's exaggerated preference for a single manuscript, which he had the good fortune to discover, "betrayed him into an almost childlike infirmity of critical judgment." To illustrate the fascination this Sinaitic manuscript had upon this noble scholar, Eadie says: "It may be added that he excludes the last verse of St. John's Gospel (xxi. 25,) solely because in that manuscript it appeared to be written with fresher or darker ink. Other eyes than his could not appreciate the difference '*coloris discrimen*,' and when he showed the page to Tregelles, the English scholar at once exclaimed, 'O yes, I see; the scribe took a new dip of ink after writing verse 24th.'"<sup>1</sup>
- (h.) Lachmann's materials were imperfect. His text is based on little more than four manuscripts, and is a critical recension rather than an authoritative text.

<sup>1</sup> *History of the English Bible*, II., 364.

- (i.) Alford adopted improbable readings, against his former decisions, because favored by the authority of ancient manuscripts.
- (j.) "Though it seems an ungracious criticism," says Elliott, "yet it must, in all frankness, be said that the text of Tregelles is not in all respects satisfactory. It is rigid and mechanical, and sometimes fails to disclose that critical instinct and peculiar scholarly sagacity which is so much needed in the great and responsible work of constructing a critical text of the Greek Testament."<sup>1</sup>
- (k.) These critically *constructed texts* often fail to give a correct understanding of the case, since a certain reading is introduced into the text when in the judgment of the critic another reading has quite as good right to the place and yet no note is made of the fact.
- (l.) The *Textus Receptus* is as yet the standard text. This statement is true, though it is made in the face of the fact of real progress made in textual criticism. For out of all these invaluable materials, a second *textus receptus* could not be framed "free from one great disturbing element in all critical labors, *individual bias and personal predilections*."
- (m.) In this same connection Ellicott further suggests, that while the Received Text must remain the standard, there may be departures from it in cases "where critical evidence and the *consent of the best editors* point out the necessity of a change." Such a text would not deserve to be called "strictly critical," but if made "by a body of competent scholars, it would be a critical revision of a very high, and, probably, very popular character."<sup>2</sup>
- (n.) The *Textus Receptus*, on account of its substantial accuracy, calls forth our admiration, considering the time in which it was made and the scant materials from which it was formed.<sup>3</sup>
- (o.) The most ancient manuscripts in their various readings are so many independent witnesses,—first, to the fact that the text of the New Testament already had a history; second, that there was no collusion between the earliest writers; and third, these manuscripts coming from different countries testify to the wide diffusion of the Gospel.

<sup>1</sup> Ellicott on *Revision of N. T.*, p. 48. Schaff's ed. New York, 1873.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> The *Textus Receptus* is the Elzevir text. The text of Erasmus, fourth edition, was closely followed by the third edition of Stevens, 1550; which, in turn, was followed, with a few slight alterations, by Beza, 1565; and all these by the celebrated Leyden publisher, Elzevir, in his editions of 1624-1633.



- (p.) Various readings of Greek manuscripts of a subordinate kind are numerous, and may be found in every chapter ; but the number of really important doubtful passages is very small, and grows still smaller when passages are taken out concerning which critical opinion is about equally divided.
- (q.) The critical texts of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, as well as others, were not formed as something final, but as an expression of their individual judgments from the sources before them. At least such are the results.
- (r.) Notwithstanding the changes in doctrine and practice in the Church during the past fifteen centuries, yet there is no trace in these MSS. of intentional changes by copyists to support any such current practice or opinion.
- (s.) In regard to a revision of the A. V. in many debatable passages, "prudence would seem to suggest the maintenance of the present version, though the alternative rendering might most properly be placed in the margin."<sup>1</sup>

The above summary is conservative in its tendency, yet in its disconnection it must not be understood as disparaging the labors of textual critics, nor undervaluing the oldest manuscripts as one of the chief sources of critical evidence. For, as Dr. Tischendorf well remarks, "it would be indeed a misunderstanding of the dealing of Providence if after these documents had been preserved through all the dangers of fourteen or fifteen centuries, and delivered safe into our hands, we were not to receive them with thankfulness as most valuable instruments for the elucidation of truth."

But the practical question still remains as to the effect of textual criticism in its application to our English Bible. This question is answered most satisfactorily for the general reader by the Critical English New Testament, edited by Bagster and Son. London, 1871. This work gives the results of textual criticism in its application to the English text. Every change that has been proposed on manuscript authority is noted, and the authority cited. First, the critical texts of Lachmann, Tischendorf, Green, Tregelles, and Alford, then

<sup>1</sup> Ellicott on *Revision of N. T.*, p. 100. Schaff's ed. New York, 1873.

manuscripts, and lastly ancient versions, are given in notes at the bottom of the page. In other words, it is simply an English New Testament of the Authorized version, with notes indicating proposed critical changes, with the authorities for the same. There is also a useful work edited by Dr. Tischendorf, and known as the Tauchnitz edition of the Authorized version of the New Testament, volume 1000. Leipzig, 1869. This is somewhat similar to the above, though in the changes proposed it confines itself to the readings of three most celebrated manuscripts of the Greek text,—namely, the Sinaitic, the Vatican, and the Alexandrine. This work is very satisfactory, excepting that the foot-notes are too much condensed. In these two volumes the results of textual criticism, in its specific application, are most happily brought within the reach of every English reader.<sup>1</sup>

A diligent perusal of either of these volumes will prove most satisfactory. For though they indicate alterations in words and sentences, yet we see for ourselves that for the most part they are unimportant. And even in cases of proposed important changes, if allowed, the text as a whole would not be seriously injured. For, as above suggested, no important teaching of the Scriptures rests upon any single doubtful passage. As an illustration of the changes suggested, take two or three chapters in the Gospel of John, as appears in Bagster's Critical New Testament. Thirteen changes are indicated in the first chapter, as follows:

- John I. 16. *And of his fulness.* . . . Read: *Because of his fulness.*  
 26. . . . *but there standeth one among you.*  
       Omit: *but.*  
 27. *He it is, who coming after me is preferred before me.*  
       Omit: *it is,* and the clause *is preferred before me,* and  
       read: *He that comes after me,*  
 28. *These things were done in Bethabara.* Read: *Bethany.*

<sup>1</sup> The Anglo-American *Revision of the A. V. of the N. T.*, which is to appear from the English press, May, 1881, will furnish another important answer to this question.

29. The next day *John* seeth Jesus coming unto him. Omit: *John*.
39. . . . and abode with him that day; *for* it was about the tenth hour. Omit: *for*.
42. *And* he brought him to Jesus. *And* when Jesus beheld him. Omit: the *And* in both clauses.
43. The day following *Jesus* would go forth. Here *Jesus* is omitted, but it is added in the next clause, which reads: and *Jesus* saith unto him, Follow me.
49. Nathanael answered *and saith unto him*, Rabbi, thou art the Son of God. Omit: *and saith unto him*.
51. *Hereafter* ye shall see heaven open. Omit: *Hereafter*.

In chapter second only three changes are proposed, which are follows:

- II. 17. *And* his disciples remembered. Omit: *And*. In the next clause read: . . . *will eat* me up; instead of, *hath eaten* me up.
22. . . . that he had said this *unto them*. Omit: *unto them*.

In chapter third four changes are indicated, as follows:

- III. 15. That whosoever believeth in him should *not perish*, but have eternal life. Omit: *not perish*, but. This is upon the authority of Tischendorf, Green, Alford, and Tregelles, based upon the Sinaitic and Vatican MSS., and several ancient versions.
25. . . . between some of John's disciples and *the Jews*. Read: *a Jew*.
32. *And* what he hath seen and heard. Omit: *And*.
34. . . . for *God* giveth not. Read: for *He* giveth not.

In the fourth chapter nine changes are proposed, as follows:

- IV. 3. . . . and departed *again* into Galilee. Omit: *again*.
16. *Jesus* saith unto her. Read: *He* saith unto her.
30. *Then* they went out of the city. Omit: *Then*.
36. *And* he that reapeth receiveth wages. Omit: *And*.

42. . . . that this is indeed *the Christ* the Saviour of the world. Omit: *the Christ*. So Lachmann, Tischendorf, Green, Alford, and Tregelles on the authority of the oldest MSS. and versions.
43. . . . he departed thence *and went* into Galilee. Omit: *and went*.
46. So *Jesus* came again. Omit: *Jesus*.
47. . . . he went unto him, and besought *him*. Omit: *him*.
50. . . . *And* the man believed. Omit: *And*.

The above examples will suffice to illustrate the general character of the alterations proposed, which are made up almost entirely of omissions of words and phrases, affecting the style rather than the meaning of the English text. It should be noted also that these words and phrases are based upon the Greek of the received text. There are a few critical changes, however, of greater moment, which most unjustly have been made the occasion of casting discredit upon the integrity of our English Scriptures. The following are the chief examples:

- Matt. VI. 13. . . . *For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.* This doxology is regarded by many as an interpolation. It must be confessed that the weight of testimony from the oldest manuscripts and the writings of the Church fathers, is against it. But the spiritually-minded Steir says: "For ourselves we rest calmly in the hope, that one day when all that is lost is found again, and the patch work of history is a completed whole, it will be made clear, how it has come to pass that this doxology early fell away, and was omitted from the manuscripts and the fathers."<sup>1</sup> The doxology finds a place in the Peschito version, which is of the second century; also in other ancient versions. Chrysostom in the fourth century, comments on it without the least intimation that it was of doubtful authority. Finally its genuineness is finding modern

<sup>1</sup> *Words of Jesus, in loco.* Vol. I. New York. N. D.

defenders.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding therefore the combined testimony of ancient manuscripts and of the Church fathers, there is room for a reasonable doubt, consequently there are many who will be slow to adopt the extreme conclusion of critical editors in respect to this passage.

Mark XVI. 9-20. In regard to the genuineness of these twelve concluding verses, critical opinion is about equally divided. The passage is wanting in the Sinaitic and Vatican, but is found in the Alexandrine, Ephraim, and Beza manuscripts; also in a large number of still later manuscripts. Irenæus in the second century quotes it. It is found also in ancient versions. Eusebius did not admit the authenticity of this passage, but "considering how much older and more important the testimony of Irenæus is than that of Eusebius, we are naturally led to suppose it more likely that our present conclusion of the Gospel was originally found in all manuscripts, but was afterwards left out from ecclesiastical prejudices (because the Apostles were reproved in it, etc.), than that it was afterwards added."<sup>2</sup>

John V. 3, 4. . . . *waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water: whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.* Four ancient MSS. are against this passage. Yet it is favored by Tertullian, whose writings are earlier than the earliest manuscripts. It is found in the Peschito version of the New Testament, which belongs to the second century. Notwithstanding the majority of critical editors pronounce it spurious.

VII. 53.-VIII. 11. This passage, which relates the case of the woman taken in adultery, is disallowed by Lachmann, Tischendorf, Green, Alford and Tregelles; their judgment being based upon its omission in the Sinaitic and Vatican MSS. But Augustine tells us,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Scrivener's *Supplement to the Authorized Version of N. T.* I., 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Introduction to Mark's Gospel.* Lange. Third ed., p. 11. New York, 1867.

that this passage was omitted from the Gospel of John before his day, lest it should seem to grant a license to sin.<sup>1</sup> The passage is found in more than three hundred cursive or late MSS., and is defended by such authorities as Bengel, Stier and Lange. The truthfulness of the narrative is not so much doubted by those who oppose it, as its right to a place in John's Gospel. The peculiar features of the passage, such as Jesus writing on the ground, and his words spoken at the time, place it above fabrication. In fact "the narrative not only fills a place of its own," but seems to "meet a want in the Gospel history."<sup>2</sup>

Acts VIII. 37. *And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.* This verse is omitted by the most ancient manuscripts; also by some of the oldest versions, and consequently from the critical texts of modern editors. And while its insertion may not be defended, yet its omission detracts nothing from the original narrative. Some such liturgical confession was early used by applicants for baptism; and by being first transcribed upon the margin, through copyist it may have crept into the text.

I. John V. 7, 8. For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth, the spirit, and the water and the blood: and these three agree in one. The middle clauses of these verses, which read: *in heaven.....in earth*, are not found in a single manuscript before the sixteenth century. They are wanting also in all the ancient versions. They have no place in the first or the second edition of Erasmus' Greek Testament. But when a great clamor was raised against Erasmus, he promised to insert these clauses if they could be found in a single Greek manuscript. Finally such a manuscript was found,<sup>3</sup> and he fulfilled his promise

<sup>1</sup> *British Quarterly Review*, p. 76. Jan., 1870.

<sup>2</sup> Lange on *John*, in loco. New York, 1871.

<sup>3</sup> Codex Montfortianus, or the Dublin MS., which belongs probably to the sixteenth century.

by inserting them in his next edition. The evidences are all against these clauses, and without doubt they ought to be left out of the text. This is the notable passage of the Three Witnesses, concerning which volumes of controversy have been written and published.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the above there are other so-called doubtful passages, but these are the most important that have been indiscriminately branded as interpolations. And while against some of these critical opinion is united, yet in respect to others it is so equally divided that many Christian scholars are not willing to give them up. For further illustration of the application of textual criticism to the text of the Authorized version, take the following, which are the most important alterations proposed in the Epistle to the Romans. And even if these were allowed, the sense in a single instance would not be injured.

Rom. VIII. 1. . . . . *who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit.* This clause may be a gloss from verse 4, and if left out would not injure the text.

IX. 28. This is a difficult passage, and possibly the reading, suggested by Tischendorf, as founded upon the three oldest MSS., is an improvement, which is: *For the Lord will perform (his) word upon the earth, finishing (it) and cutting (it) short.*

XI. 6. . . . . *But if it be of works, then it is no more grace: otherwise work is no more work.* Doubt has been cast upon this last clause on account of its omission from most of the oldest manuscripts. It is found, however, in the Vatican MS., which is one of the most ancient; also in the Syriac, which is the oldest among ancient versions.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One of Prof. Porson's conclusions is that this MS. was written about the year 1520, and interpolated in this place for the sake of deceiving Erasmus. See *Letters to Archdeacon Travis*, by R. Porson, p. 117. London, 1790. While Dr. Adam Clarke, though he thought the MS. comparatively modern, yet believed that it was never written with an intention to deceive. See Clarke's *Succession of Sacred Literature*, I., 72. London, N. D.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Alford's *Commentary, in loco*. Boston and New York, 1872.

- XIII. 9. . . . *Thou shalt not bear false witness.* This clause is not found in a majority of the oldest authorities, and is consequently rightly omitted by modern textual editors.
- XIV. 6. . . . *and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it.* This clause is wanting in many of the best authorities; yet critical opinion is about equally divided in respect to it. Tischendorf varies in his judgment in the different editions of his Greek Testament.<sup>1</sup>
- XV. 24. . . . *I will come to you.* These words are omitted by Lachmann, Green, Alford, and Tregelles, on the authority of the most ancient MSS. and versions.<sup>2</sup>

The more we become acquainted with the evidences from all sources of sacred criticism, the less apprehensive we are in respect to the general integrity of the Greek text, from which our English version was taken. So, likewise, the greater our familiarity with the results of textual criticism, in its application to our English text, the less our anxiety and fear in regard to the integrity of our English Bible. At the same time this familiarity with the results of sacred criticism leads to the conviction of an imperious necessity for a revision of our so called Authorized version. While thousands of the changes suggested are quite insignificant, yet a pure text in the minutest particulars and a correct rendering are matters not to be lightly esteemed, when the Sacred Scriptures are the subject of consideration. The preceding pages of this chapter were written without the least reference to the subject of a new revision, but simply to set forth facts for the better understanding of the external and internal history of our English Bible. But every imperfection brought to light, however small, is an argument for such an undertaking. And when we call to mind the fact, that our present English Bible is the grand resultant of successive revisions, and that its chief excellencies were inherited through this channel, all objections to a new revision

<sup>1</sup> Lange's *Textual Notes*, in loco. New York, 1870.

<sup>2</sup> All the above examples are from Bagster's *Critical Eng. N. T.* London, 1871



must vanish. Especially now that more than two and a half centuries have elapsed since it was first issued, a period involving changes in language and important progress in sacred criticism. But the efforts that have been made by way of translations or revisions since 1611, and the effort towards a new revision that is now being made by the English and American companies will be treated in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER XI.

### REVISIONS AND TRANSLATIONS SINCE A. D. 1611.

WHEN King James' Bible first appeared, there was no special demand for it. More than a generation passed before it won its way into public favor. But as soon as it became established there arose a demand for a revised edition. Among the earliest attempts towards such revision was that of Henry Jessey, about the year 1653. He was skilled in the Hebrew, Syriac and Chaldee languages. Moreover he was "a great scripturist." So exact was his knowledge of the Bible that he obtained the name of the "*Living Concordance*." Mr. Jessey, in connection with Professor Row who was also a celebrated linguist, proposed "to make a new and more critical translation."<sup>1</sup> In 1655 Prof. Row published his proposal, "For y<sup>e</sup> bettering of y<sup>e</sup> English translation of y<sup>e</sup> Bible." He proposed such emendations as unmeet divisions of chapters and verses, needless transposition of words, and useless additions, such as apocryphal writings, popish plates and pictures, and spurious subscriptions to the Epistles. Also changes were to be made in the text when "the margin is righter than the line"; when "particles are confounded"; when "a word plurall is translated as singular"; when "the active is rendered as if passive"; and when "genders are confounded."<sup>2</sup> But these efforts, whether put forth together or separately, never went beyond proposals, or at least never found their way into print.

Another early attempt towards a new revision was made in the Long parliament on the 11th of January, 1653, when

<sup>1</sup> Townley's *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, III., 327.

<sup>2</sup> Eadie's *History of the Eng. Bible*, II., 322, 323.

an order was introduced for "a new translation of the Bible out of the original tongues." On account of the dissolution of this parliament in the following April nothing was done. The question was revived again in Cromwell's parliament in 1656, and referred to a committee with instructions to advise with such Biblical scholars as Doctors Walton and Cudworth, and after consultation to offer their opinions therein. The committee carried out their instructions in part, but on account of the dissolution of this parliament in the spring of 1658, no public report was made. They agreed among themselves, however, to call attention to the incorrectness of certain printed editions, and to some mistakes in the translation, but at the same time to pronounce the Authorized version as "the best of any translation in the world."

With the restoration in 1660 an era of darkness settled down upon England. Fashionable society, weary of Puritan restraints, revelled in its new freedom. Puritans were hated and persecuted. The Bible was discarded, and its principles of morality as well as religion were trampled under foot. While all this was lamentably true of royalty and its abettors, yet back of this glittering pomp and social corruption there remained an undercurrent of Christian principle. The visible result of Puritanism in its reachings after political power, was its mistake, and so far its failure; so the visible result of the Restoration, in its political and social corruption, was its mistake and failure. But the grand underlying principles of the one as well as of the other, still live and tell upon the best interests of all English speaking peoples. The prophets in literature and science of that age are the teachers of this age. The era of the Restoration was the era of Newton. It was in 1665 he gave to the world his theory of Fluxions, and in 1687 his "Principia." This was the era of Milton also, who in 1667 published his "Paradise Lost," and in four years afterwards his "Paradise Regained." So likewise the prophets in religion of that age are the teachers of this, since it was the age of Baxter, Barrow and Bunyan. It was an age, notwithstanding

its corruptions, that could appreciate the "Pilgrim's Progress," since before the death of its author, in 1688, during a period of some eighteen years, ten editions of the book were sold.<sup>1</sup>

During the latter years of the seventeenth century, notwithstanding the unsettled state of politics and religion, King James' Bible grew in favor with the people. And in the beginning of the eighteenth century "the tide of glowing panegerie set in"; and not without good reasons, for by its spiritual influences it permeated society with the leaven of the Gospel, and thus withstood the rage of skepticism and immorality, and by the purity of its language it exerted a happy influence in opposition to the tide of Gallicisms which threatened to overwhelm the English language. On account of the prevailing estimate of the excellencies of King James' version, no efforts were made during these years towards a new translation. But in a few years afterwards individual attempts were made, which proved so unsuccessful that they only confirmed the judgment of those who regarded King James' Bible almost as a finality. Among these attempts one most notable was made by W. Mace in 1729. It is described by Lewis as a translation of the New Testament by "one or more, who seem to have set themselves down in the Seat of the Scorners, and to make it their Business to render the Authority of this Holy Book doubtful, and the Book it self as contemptible and ridiculous as they could to the *English Reader*."<sup>2</sup> It was published in two volumes, and contained a Greek text "*corrected from the Authority of the most authentic MSS.*" The title further states it to be, "*a New Version form'd agreeably to the Illustrations of the most learned Commentators and Critics; With Notes and various Readings, and a copious Alphabetical Index.*" "The vulgar and ludicrous Expressions," says Lewis, "used in this Translation, the ridiculous Notes and Observations of the various Readings of the Original, the boyish and Weak Reflections made on the

<sup>1</sup> Green's *Short Hist. of Eng. People*, p. 612. New York, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> *History of English Translations of the Bible*, p. 365. London, 1739.

Canon of Scripture, &c., do all justify the general Character I before gave of this doughty Translation.”<sup>1</sup> The following are a few selected specimens taken from those given by Mr. Lewis :

- Matt. VI. 16. When ye fast, don't put on a dismal air as the Hypocrites do.
- XII. 34. . . . 'tis the overflowing of the heart that the mouth dischargeth.
- XX. 31. . . . the people reprimanded them to make them hold their tongue, but they bawl'd out the more, Have mercy on us.
- XXII. 34. . . . the *Pharisees* hearing that he had dumb-founded the *Sadducees*.
- Luke XVII. 27. . . . eating and drinking, marriages and matches was the business.
- John I. 23. I am, said he, the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Clear the way of the Lord.
- I. Cor. VII. 1. If any man thinks it would be a reflection upon his manhood to be a stale batchelor.
- James II. 3. If you should respectfully say to the suit of fine cloths, Sit you there, that's for quality.
- John I. 14. We contemplated his Glory, such Glory as the Monogenes derived from the Father.
16. Of his Plenitude have we all received.
- VI. 63. It is the action of the mind that vivifies.
- I. Thess. V. 13. Don't form any brigues against them.
14. Comfort the pusillanimous.
- James III. 5, 6. The tongue is but a small part of the body, yet how grand are its pretensions? A spark of fire! what quantities of timber will it blow into a flame? The tongue is a brand that sets the World in a combustion: it is but one of the numerous organs of the body, yet it can blast whole assemblies: tipp'd with infernal sulphur, it sets the whole train of life in a blaze.

A very different attempt from the above was made by Antony Purver, a quaker, in 1764. His design was to translate the Scriptures for his own denomination. But while it was

<sup>1</sup> *History of English Translations of the Bible*, p. 366. London, 1739.

approved by individuals, it was never adopted by the Church. Further, his design was to make a literal translation, free from what he regarded as "obsolete, uncouth, and clownish expressions" of King James' Bible. And yet his own judgment in the selection of words was by no means perfect. He condemned the use of such words as: *bereaved, bondmen, beguile, boisterous, damsel, dayspring, marvels, remit, perseverance*, and many others. For, *moved upon the face of the waters*, he renders, *hovered a top of the waters*. For, *Let there be light; and there was light*; he reads, *Let there be light which there was accordingly*. Purver believed in an immediate revelation, and in translating difficult passages he is said to have been in the habit of retiring into a room alone to pray for guidance, and to remain there for whole days and nights together. One of the excellencies of his translation rests upon the fact of his diligent study of the original languages. He was a firm believer in the purity of the Hebrew text; and claimed not only a high antiquity, but a divine authority for the vowel points. Purver was engaged in this work about thirty years; since, as early as 1736, he published a specimen of his translation, and invited the criticism of Biblical scholars. He first thought to publish it in numbers, but in this he was unsuccessful. And failing to find a publisher, at length Dr. Fothergill paid him a thousand pounds for his manuscript, and published it at his own expense.<sup>1</sup> The translation contains many improved renderings, yet it is marked with much less of simplicity than the habits of the man and the character of the denomination to which he belonged would naturally lead us to expect. The following are here inserted as specimens of the translation:<sup>2</sup>

Gen. XLIII. 11. Whereupon Israel their father says to them; if it be so now, do this: take of the applauded things of the country in your vehicles, and have down a

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers' *Biographical Dict.*, Art. *Purver* (Antony). Smith's *Bible Dict.*, Art. *Version, Authorized*. Also, Cotton's *Editions of the Bible*.

<sup>2</sup> From Cotton's *Editions of the Bible*, pp. 238, 250.

present to the man ; a little Balsam, and a little Honey, Spice and Myrrh, Nuts and Almonds.

12. Take also double money with you ; even that which was brought back in the mouths of your bags, carry again with you ; perhaps it was a mistake.
13. As likewise take your brother ; and getting ready, return to the man.
14. And God Almighty give you compassion before him, that he may send with you your other brother, and Benjamin ; and according as I am deprived of my children, I must be.

**Mark XIV.** 1. Now there was the Passover, and unleavened bread, two days after ; and the chief Priests and Scribes sought, how they might take hold of him by deceit, and kill.

2. However they said, not at the Feast, lest at any time there should be a tumult of the people.
3. And he being in Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper, as he sate down, there came a woman who had an Alabaster-box of ointment, of costly liquid spikenard ; which box she broke open, and poured *that* on his head.
4. But there were some enraged with themselves, and saying : What is this waste of the ointment made for ?
5. Since that could have been sold for above three hundred pence, and this given to the poor ; thus they grumbled at her.

In 1768 appeared a translation of the New Testament by Edward Harwood. He was a man of no inconsiderable learning, and the author of several works. The most important of which were : A View of the Various Editions of the Greek and Roman Classics ; and An Introduction to the New Testament. But we are chiefly interested in his translation of the New Testament "into modern English," which was published in London with the following title : "A Liberal Translation of the New Testament ; Being an attempt to translate the Sacred Writings with the same freedom, spirit, and elegance, with which other English Translations from the Greek Classics have lately been executed. By E. Harwood, London, 1768."

It was a strange attempt, for which the author deserved the rebuke which he received from his cotemporaries. The follies of the translation are justly characterized, by Dean Trench as "not far from blasphemous."<sup>1</sup> To illustrate something of the "freedom, spirit, and elegance," which he sought to introduce into his translation, take the following examples:

Matt. XXI. 33. Attend to the recital of another fable—A gentleman laid out a large plot of ground—Planted it with vines—drew a stony fence round it—established a large apparatus for preparing the juice—and erected a tower for its defence.

Mark V. 39. When he came into the room he said to them—Why do you indulge all these excesses of sorrow and mourning?—the young lady is not dead—she is only sunk into a profound sleep.

40. For these words, the mourners could not forbear expressing by their looks, the contemptible opinion they had of him as a prophet.

X. 17. As he was travelling in the public road towards Jerusalem, a person of distinction advanced up to him, and prostrating himself at his feet said—Good instructor! condescend to acquaint me, what course of practice I must pursue in order to attain future felicity.

18. Jesus said to him—What induces you to call me *good*—that venerable title can essentially belong only to the supreme God.

XII. 32. The clergyman said—You have given him the only right and proper answer.

Luke XI. 40. Absurd and preposterous conduct! Did not the great Being, who made the external, create the internal intellectual powers—and will he not be more solicitous for the purity of the mind, than for the showy elegance of the body?

XII. 16. IT HAPPENED that the immense estates of an opulent gentleman one year proved uncommonly fertile, and yielded him an exceeding rich and plentiful crop.

17. His heart exulted when he viewed the waving golden

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars respecting Harwood, compare Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary*, Cotton's *Edition of Eng. Bible*, and Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, Art. *Version*, *Authorized*.



harvest . . . . he said to himself . . . . where  
shall I reposit it.

18. After some time spent in anxious deliberations, he cried out in a sudden transport—I am determined immediately to pull down my barns—and I will erect grand and magnificent storehouses, where I will amass all this copious and amazing produce of my field.

19. . . . I will then say to my soul—Happy soul! Distinguished is thy felicity! . . . . Come indulge thy soft envied repose—feast on the most delicious viands—taste the most exquisite liquors—and traverse a circle of every amusement and joy.

XV. 11. A gentleman of splendid family and opulent fortune had two sons.

John III. 32. But though this exalted personage freely publishes and solemnly attests those heavenly doctrines.

I. Cor. XV. 51. . . . We shall not pay the common debt of nature, but by a soft transition.

Such examples as the above show not only the folly of all such attempts, but the wisdom also of those from whom we have received our English Bible. Such examples may well serve likewise as a warning against any future effort to dignify the Holy Scriptures by any such “freedom, spirit, and elegance” in style.

The revised edition of the Bible by Dr. Benj. Blaney, published in 1769, was made in the interest of a correct English text. From the first printing of King James’ Bible typographical errors crept into the text. Notwithstanding the care that was exercised, such errors were continually occurring, which in a few instances proved quite serious.<sup>1</sup> This work was prepared under the direction of the vice-chancellor and delegates of the Claridon press of Oxford, and was published in a quarto, also in a folio edition. The work was to be a standard edition, and is still so regarded by the Oxford press, with a few slight modifications. The work of revision included such items as punctuation, words in italics, proper names, headings

<sup>1</sup> See pages 363–395, above.

of chapters, running titles at the top of the page, chronology, and marginal references. Notwithstanding the care and labor put upon this edition, it was not entirely free from errors, which were discovered to the number of one hundred sixteen, when it was collated for Eyre and Strahan's edition of the Bible in 1806. As an illustration of the character of these errors the following examples will suffice:<sup>1</sup>

- Judges XI. 7. And Jephthah said unto the *children* of Gilead ; for :  
elders of Gilead.
- I. Chron. XXIX. 6. . . . with the rulers *over* the king's works ;  
for : *of* the king's works.
- I. Cor. IV. 13. . . . we are made as the filth of the *earth* ;  
for : of the *world*.
- II. Cor. XII. 2. I knew a man in Christ *about* fourteen years ago ;  
for : *above* fourteen years ago.
- I. John I. 4. . . . that *our* joy may be full ; for : *your* joy  
may be full.
- I. Tim. II. 9. . . . that women adorn themselves in modest  
apparel with *shamefacedness* and sobriety ; for :  
. . . . with shamefastness and sobriety,  
which means, " firmly established in honourable  
shame." But shamefacedness carries with it  
the idea of dishonorable shame, the very oppo-  
site of shamefastness. This error has descended  
to our present Bibles.
- Rev. XVIII. 22. In this verse the following clause is omitted : . . .  
*at all in thee ; and no craftsmen* of whatever  
craft (he be) shall be found any more.

In 1778 Bishop Lowth translated the Prophecy of Isaiah, which attracted a good deal of attention at the time. It was an age of revival of the study of the Hebrew language, and Dr. Lowth was foremost among Hebrew scholars. He advocated the collation of the Hebrew text with ancient manuscripts, and it was upon this work that Dr. Kennicott, urged by his friends, entered. In 1776 Kennicott published the first volume of the Hebrew Bible, with various readings ; and in

<sup>1</sup> Horne's *Introduction*, II., 75. Cotton's *Editions of the Bible*, p. 98. Eadie's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, II., 304, 305. McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopedia*, Art. *Authorized Version*, I., 563.

1780 he put forth the second volume, with a general dissertation. There was at this time a growing desire for an improved English version based upon a corrected Greek and Hebrew text. The design of Dr. Lowth, in translating the book of Isaiah, was to give a "faithful representation of the words and sense of the prophet, . . . to express the form and fashion of the composition, and to give the English reader some notion of the peculiar turn and cast of the original." The translation was made from a corrected text, and on this and other accounts it met with severe criticism at the hands of his enemies, and an able defense at the hands of his friends. Though as a translation it was "admirably executed," yet in the judgment of his friends and of Dr. Lowth himself, it was not so well adapted to the general reader as the version contained in King James' Bible.<sup>1</sup>

In the translation of the Bible by Dr. Alexander Geddes, we have a singular illustration of a Roman Catholic favoring a Vernacular version of the Scriptures. As early as 1780 he published his "Idea of a New Version of the Holy Bible for the use of English Catholics," and in 1785 he issued his prospectus. Dr. Geddes was severe in his criticisms upon the Douay Bible, particularly the annotations, which he denounced as "calculated to support a system not of genuine Catholicity, but of transalpine Popery." If severe upon the Catholic version, he was lenient upon the version of King James' translators. He praised its excellencies, many of which he thought traceable back to Tyndale. He was encouraged by Doctors Lowth and Kennicott to enter upon the work of translation. In 1792 the first volume of his translation appeared, professing to have been "faithfully translated from corrected texts of the originals, with various readings, explanatory notes, and critical remarks." The second volume was published in 1797. But even before its appearance he began to fall under the censure of his brethren, and when he put forth his "Critical

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary*, Articles *Lowth* and *Kennicott*.

Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures," Protestants joined with Catholics in censuring him. One of the complaints against him was that he attempted the translation of the Bible "with a view to destroy its credibility." He gave the greatest offense, however, by the publication of his "Critical Remarks," in which he anticipated much of modern skepticism. He attacked "the credit of Moses in every part of his character as an historian, a legislator, and a moralist." His translation, which comprised two volumes, extended no further than II. Chronicles.<sup>1</sup> The following is a single specimen from Cotton:<sup>2</sup>

- Gen. XLIII. 11. Their father Israel, at length, said to them, "Since it must then be, do this. Take of the most prized fruits of the land in your vessels; and carry down, as a present to the man, some balsam, palm-honey, storax, laudanum, pistaches and almonds.
12. And take double money in your hands, carrying back with you the money, which was returned in the mouth of your sacks: perhaps it was an oversight.
13. Take also your brother, and arise and return to the man.
14. And may God the omnipotent, give you favour before the man: that he may send back your other brother, with Benjamin! But, if I be bereaved of my children, bereaved I must be!"

The Four Gospels of the New Testament, translated by Dr. George Campbell, were published with notes in two volumes. London, 1789. This was followed by other editions, the last of which was published in 1821. Dr. Campbell stood high among the learned men of Scotland. He was president of Marischal College, Aberdeen. His reputation as a scholar was increased by the publication of his *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, which appeared in 1776. The translation of the Gospels

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers' *Biographical Dict.*, Art. *Geddes, A.* Also Smith's *Bible Dict.*, Art. *Version Authorized.* IV., 3438.

<sup>2</sup> *Editions of the Bible*, p. 238. Oxford, 1852.

added to his reputation as a Biblical critic. In 1818 this translation was published in connection with Macknight's translation of the Epistles of the New Testament and Doddridge's translation of the Acts and book of Revelation. But the importance to be attached at this time to Dr. Campbell's version, as well as Macknight's and Doddridge's translations, is that they were chosen by Alexander Campbell, the founder in this country of the denomination called Campbellites, or Disciples of Christ, as the basis of his version of the New Testament, or "Sacred Writings," which he published in 1826. The following may serve as an illustration of some of the unfortunate renderings of Dr. George Campbell's translation :

- Matt. V. 1. Jesus seeing so great a confluence repaired to a mountain.  
 3. Happy the poor who repine not.  
 Luke XVIII. 5. . . . lest she come perpetually and plague me.  
 John I. 38. . . . They answered : Rabbi, which signifieth Doctor.  
 VII. 6. Jesus answered : my time is not yet come, but any time will suit you.  
 XXI. 5. Jesus said to them : my lads, have ye any victuals.

Gilbert Wakefield was noted as a classical scholar and theological critic. "By the light borrowed from the philology of Greece and Rome," he proposed to interpret the language of the New Testament. He became quite a controversialist, opposing the received opinions of both churchmen and dissenters. He rejected the doctrine of the trinity, and published the first volume of *An Enquiry into the Opinions of the Christian Writers of the three first Centuries concerning the Person of Christ*. In the year 1789, Wakefield published a new translation of those parts of the Authorized version which he thought to have been wrongly translated. In the preface he urged the necessity of a new translation of the New Testament, and expressed his willingness, if encouraged, to

undertake the same. Subsequently he entered upon the work, which was published in three volumes in 1791. The Unitarians desired to adopt this version, and proposed to publish it at their own expense. This he acceded to, but the original contract with his publisher prevented the arrangement.

Whatever may have been his theological bias, Wakefield had a correct idea of the style best adapted to a translation of the New Testament. "I cannot admire," he says in his preface, "the prevailing practice of banishing significant and native phrases from our compositions, to make room for a pompous verbosity from the vocabulary of *Rome*."<sup>1</sup> In the work of translation "the chief rule," he says, "which I have prescribed to myself... was: 'To adopt the received version upon all possible occasions, and never to supersede it unless some low, obsolete, or obscure word, some vulgar idiom... or some misrepresentation of the sense, demanded an alteration. .... *Use* has so far sanctified, if I may employ the term, our received version, that no translation, I am persuaded, essentially different from it, can ever be cordially relished, I do not say by the *generality*, but by readers of an *exact taste* and *polished understandings*.'"<sup>2</sup> This rule and the judgment upon which it was based were alike excellent; but he himself too often varied from them. Take the following as examples:

Matt. IV. 10. Then saith Jesus unto him: Be gone Satan! . . . and  
*pay religious service to him alone.*<sup>3</sup>

X. 10. . . . for the workman is worthy of his  
sustenance.

XIII. 36-39. . . . Explain us the parable of the weeds  
in the farm. Then he answered and said unto  
them: The sower of the good seed is the son of  
man: the farm is the world: the good seed are the  
sons of the kingdom, and the weeds are the sons  
of the evil one: the enemy, who sowed the weeds,

<sup>1</sup> Wakefield's (Gilbert) *Translation of N. T.* I., p. vi. London, Second ed., 1795.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. iv.

<sup>3</sup> The italics belong to the translator.

is the devil : the harvest is the conclusion of this age : and the reapers are the messengers.

XIX. 14. . . . Suffer these little children to come unto me, and hinder them not ; for of those who resemble them, is the kingdom of heaven.

XXIII. 13. Alas for you, Scribes and Pharisees ! hypocrites ! for ye devour widows' houses, though ye pray at the same time with a long preamble.

37, 38. O ! Jerusalem ! Jerusalem ! who killest the prophets . . . often was I desirous of gathering thy children together, as a bird gathereth her young together under her wings ! but ye refused.

XXVI. 25. Then Judas, who delivered him up, answered : Master, is it I ? He saith unto him : It is.

Mark VI. 52. For they were not brought to a *right* understanding of him by the *miracle of* the loaves ; because their heart was blinded.<sup>1</sup>

John III. 8-14. The breath breathes, in whom it listeth, and thou hearest its voice ; but knowest not whence it cometh and whither it goeth ; so is every one, that is born of the spirit, . . . . And, as Moses set on high the serpent in the wilderness, so must the son of man be set on high.

But that which marks this translation as its chief characteristic is its Unitarian tendency, which will appear in the following examples :

Matt. I. 1. . . . \* Jesus the Christ, *a son of David, a son of Abraham.*

XIV. 33. . . . Truly thou art *a son of God.*

John I. 1-5. In the beginning was *Wisdom*, and *Wisdom* was with God, and *Wisdom* was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by *it*, and without *it* was nothing made. *What was made, had life in it ; and this* life was the light of men ; and *this* light shineth in darkness, and the darkness hindered it not.

Archbishop Newcome's translation of the New Testament, though printed in 1796, was not published till the year 1800.

<sup>1</sup> Here also the italics belong to the translator.

The translation was made from Griesbach's Greek text, with but a few exceptions. The importance to be attached to this version is the fact that it was selected by the Unitarian Society<sup>1</sup> as the basis of their Improved Version. This London Society resolved to adopt Gilbert Wakefield's translation of the New Testament, but failing in this nothing was done till in 1806, when, at the annual meeting, a committee was appointed to carry out the purpose of the society in procuring a Unitarian version of the New Testament. This committee decided upon the translation of Dr. William Newcome, on account of "its general accuracy, simplicity and fidelity.... but principally because he professes to have followed the text of Griesbach's edition." This action on the part of the Unitarians was the occasion of no little annoyance to the friends of the archbishop. Dr. Newcome was an excellent scholar, and well qualified as a Biblical critic; but his great zeal for a new version, and his great liberality, led him "to give too much encouragement to those who seem to consider every deviation from what the majority hold sacred as an improvement."<sup>2</sup>

About this time much anxiety was felt by the friends of the Authorized version, from the fact that critical inquiry was being abused by those who favored Unitarianism and Universalism. An example of this we have in 1798. The New Testament was translated by Nathaniel Scarlett and others, for the expressed purpose of conforming it to the tenets of the Universalists. The whole plan of the work is curious, in that the historical and all the other parts, as far as practicable, are printed in the form of a dramatic piece, or that of a simple dialogue. The preface contains "observations on some terms used in the translation, such as: *Immersion, Restore, Ages, and Æonian.*" The following are here transcribed as specimens of the translation and of the form in which it is printed:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Society for the Promotion of Religious Knowledge, &c. Organized in London in 1791.

<sup>2</sup> Horne's *Intro.*, II., *App.*, 247. *Introduction. Improved Version of N. T.* London, 1819.

<sup>3</sup> Taken from a copy in the Boston Athenæum Library.



**Matt. XV. 21-27.** *Hist.*—Then Jesus going from thence, retired to the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. And behold, a woman of Canaan coming out of these parts, cried, saying to him,

*Canaanitish Woman.*—Have pity on me, O Lord, thou son of David; my daughter is grievously possessed by a demon:

*Hist.*—But he answered her not a word. And his disciples coming, entreated him, saying,

*Disciples.*—Dismiss her, because she crieth after us.

*Hist.*—But he answering, said,

**JESUS.**—I am not sent, save to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

*Hist.*—Then she came and fell prostrate before him, saying,

*Canaanitish Woman.*—Lord, help me!

*Hist.*—But he answering, said,

**JESUS.**—It is not fit to take the children's bread, and throw it to the dogs.

*Hist.*—And she said,

*Canaanitish Woman.*—True Lord; yet the dogs eat the crumbs which fall from their master's table.

*Hist.*—Then Jesus answering said, to her,

**JESUS.**—O woman, thy faith is great! be it to thee according to thy desire.

*Hist.*—And her daughter was healed from that hour.

**Rev. XXI. 1-6.** *John.*—And I saw heaven and a new earth: . . .

*Loud Voice.*—Behold the tabernacle of God is with men. . . . .

. . . . .

*John.*—And he who sat upon the throne said,

*JESUS Christ.*—Behold, I will make all things new.

*John.*—And he saith to me,

*JESUS Christ.*—Write: these sayings are true and credible.

*John.*—And he said to me,

*JESUS Christ.*—IT IS DONE.

In 1799 David Macrae (McRay) published at Glasgow his revised "Translation and Interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, after the Eastern manner, from concurrent authorities of the critics, interpreters, and commentators, copies and ver-

sions ; shewing that the inspired writings contain the seeds of the valuable sciences, being the source whence the ancient philosophers derived them, also most ancient histories and greatest antiquities, and are the most entertaining as well as instructing to both the curious and serious.”<sup>1</sup> After such pretensions in the title we are led to expect something unworthy in the translation. Dr. Eadie describes the author as “a man of some scholarship and of no small vanity and loquacity.” In his translation Macrae introduced some improved renderings ; but his manner of introducing explanatory passages in the text is very objectionable. Take the following example as a specimen of his work :

Eccles. XII. 1. Remember thy Creator in the days of youth, before the days of affliction come, and the years (*of old age*) approach, when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them.

2. Before the sun, and the light, and the moon, and the stars become dark (*to thee*) and the clouds return after rain, (*or one trouble come upon another*).
3. When (*the arms*) the keepers of the (*corporeal*) house shall shake and the strong ones (*the limbs*) be feeble, and (*the teeth*) the grinders shall cease, as being few (*and unfit for use*) ; and they that look out of the windows (*the optic nerve of the eyes*) become dim ;
4. And the doors be shut in the streets (*the lips fall in, the teeth being gone*), and the sounding of the grinding (*in eating*) be low ; and they shall rise up at the sound of the bird (*sleep being diminished and easily broken*) ; and all the daughters of music (*the accents of the voice, and acuteness of the ear*) fail.
5. They shall also be afraid of (*ascending*) the place which is high, (*being weak and breathless*) ; and fears (*of stumbling*) shall be in the way ; and (*gray hairs like*) the almond tree's leaves shall flourish ; and the grasshopper shall be a burden, (*small matters being troublesome, as being crooked and fretful*) ; and the desire of enjoyment shall fail ; for man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets.

<sup>1</sup> From a copy in the Boston Athenæum Library.

6. Before the silver cord (*the marrow of the back-bone, with its root and branches*) be contracted; or the golden vial (*the brain's membranes*) be cracked; or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, (*the cavities and conveyers of the blood from the heart*), or the wheel be broken at the cistern, (*the returners of it from the the lungs, liver, head, hands, and feet*); the double, yea, quadruple, circulation, (*galal and ruts*) being repeated, be interrupted and cease, 3 Kings iv. 35).
7. Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return to God who gave it.

"The New Testament in an Improved Version, upon the basis of Archbishop Newcome's new translation; with a corrected text, and notes critical and explanatory,"<sup>1</sup> was published in 1808 by the Unitarian Society of London. In the introduction the committee set forth their design as being, "to supply the English reader with a more correct text of the New Testament than has yet appeared in the English language, and to give him an opportunity of comparing it with the text in common use; also by divesting the sacred volume of the technical phrases of a systematic theology which has no foundation in the Scriptures themselves, to render the New Testament more generally intelligible, or at least to preclude many sources of error."<sup>2</sup> In other words their object was to conform the teaching of the New Testament, either by the text or by the notes, to support "the Unitarian scheme." They state further in their preface that, "having selected Archbishop Newcome's Translation as their basis, . . . to guard as much as possible against giving their Improved Version a motley appearance; . . . they assumed it as a principle, that no alteration should be made in the Primate's Translation but where it appeared to be necessary to the correction of error or inaccuracy in the text, the language, the construction, or the sense. . . . In justice to the Archbishop, they have placed the words of his Translation at the bottom of the page wherever

<sup>1</sup> *Improved Version. Title page*, fifth edition. London, 1819.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid. Preface*, p. v.

they have deviated from it in the Improved Version ; . . . Also, in every instance in which either the Primate's Version or their own differs from the Received Text, they have placed the words of the Received Text at the foot of the page ; and in all important cases they have cited the authorities by which the variation is supported." <sup>1</sup>

The way in which this version is made to support Unitarian views is seen in the very first chapter of Matthew, in which the closing paragraph, beginning at the seventeenth verse, together with the whole of the second chapter, is printed in italics, intimating thereby that this portion of Scripture relating to the birth of Christ, is of doubtful authority. And all this in the face of their own acknowledgment that these passages "are indeed to be found in all the manuscripts and versions which are now extant." <sup>2</sup> The slender testimony upon which they found their argument for the doubtfulness of this account, is that of Epiphanius, and indirectly that of Jerome, who says, "that it is wanting in the copies used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites." They add, further, "that the account of the miraculous conception of Jesus was probably the fiction of some early gentile convert, who hoped, by elevating the dignity of the Founder, to abate the popular prejudice against the sect." <sup>3</sup> Again, in chapter xxviii., in the latter clause of the nineteenth verse, which reads: "baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the holy spirit," is explained in their notes thus : "As a symbolical profession of that holy religion which originated with the Father, was taught by Christ, the son, that is, the servant and messenger of God, and confirmed by the gifts of the holy spirit. . . . That the holy spirit is here named in connexion with the Father and the Son, is no proof that the spirit has a distinct personal existence. See Acts xx. 32 ; Eph. vi. 10. Much less can this phraseology be alleged as an argument that the three names

<sup>1</sup> *Improved Version. Preface*, p. iv. These extended citations were in the earlier editions, but were omitted in the fifth edition for the sake of reducing the expense of the volume.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, in loco, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, in loco, note.

express three divine and equal persons.”<sup>1</sup> The following extract from the first chapter of John’s Gospel will further show the purpose of this volume:<sup>2</sup>

- John I. 1. The Word<sup>a</sup> was in the beginning,<sup>b</sup> and the Word was with God,<sup>c</sup> and the Word was a god.<sup>d</sup>
2. This *Word* was in the beginning with God.<sup>e</sup>
3. All things were done by him;<sup>f</sup> and without him was not any thing done that hath been done.
4. By him was life<sup>g</sup>; and the life was the light of men.
5. And the light shone in darkness; and the darkness overspread it not.<sup>h</sup>
6. There was a man sent from God,<sup>i</sup> whose name (*was*) John.
7. This man came for a testimony, to testify of the Light;<sup>so</sup> that through him all might believe.
- . . . . .
9. *That* was the true Light, which having come into the world is enlightening every man.<sup>j</sup>
10. He was in the world,<sup>k</sup> and the world was *enlightened* by him,<sup>l</sup> and yet the world knew him not.
11. He came to his own<sup>m</sup>; and yet those who were his own received him not.
12. But as many as received him, to them he gave authority to be the children of God,<sup>n</sup> *even* to them who believe in his name<sup>o</sup>:
13. Who were born not of blood,<sup>p</sup> nor of the will of the flesh, (nor of the will of man,) but of God.
14. And the Word was flesh,<sup>q</sup> and full of kindness and truth he dwelt among us: and we beheld his glory,<sup>r</sup> the glory as of the only son<sup>s</sup> *who came* from the Father.<sup>3</sup>

The notes on this passage are outspoken, as will be seen from the following selection:

- (a.) *The Word*. “Jesus is so called because God revealed himself or his word by him.” Newcome. . . . .
- (b.) *in the beginning*. “Or, from the first, *i. e.*, from the commencement of the gospel dispensation, or of the ministry of Christ.”. . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Improved Version, in loco, note.*

<sup>2</sup> The text and notes which follow are from *Ibid, in loco.*

<sup>3</sup> The italics in the text belong to the translator excepting in the first verse.

- (c.) *the Word was with God.* "He withdrew from the world to commune with God, and to receive divine instructions and qualifications previously to his public ministry." . . . . .
- (d.) *and the Word was a god.* "'was God.' Newcome. Jesus received a commission as a prophet of the Most High, and was invested with extraordinary miraculous powers. But in Jewish phraseology they were called gods to whom the word of God came. John x. 35. So Moses is declared to be a god to Pharaoh. Exod. vii. 1." . . . . .
- (e.) *was in the beginning with God.* Before he entered upon his ministry he was fully instructed, by intercourse with God, in the nature and extent of his commission.
- (f.) *All things were done by him.* "'All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made, that was made.' Newcome: who explains it of the creation of the visible material world by Christ, as the agent and instrument of God. . . . . But this is a sense which the word *εγενετο* will not admit. *τινομαι* occurs upwards of seven hundred times in the New Testament, but never in the sense of *create*." . . . . .
- (g.) *By him was life.* "'In him was life.' Newcome. Christ was the revealer of life. . . . Jesus, who is now called the Life, as he was before called the Word, 'was the light of men,' the great instructor of mankind."
- (h.) *the darkness overspread it not.* . . . . "Or, the darkness admitted it not."
- (i.) *a man sent from God.* "This illustrates ver. 1, 2. To be sent from God implies that he had been first with God."
- (j.) *which coming into the world is enlightening every man.* . . . "not every individual, but every one who is willing to improve it." . . . . .
- (k.) *He was in the world.* "He appeared in public as the prophet and messenger of God."
- (l.) *and the world was enlightened by him.* . . . . "The common version adopted by Abp. Newcome is, 'the world was made by him,' meaning that 'the visible material world was created by him.' But this, as observed before in the note on ver. 3, is inadmissible, as the word *εγενετο* never bears that sense. . . . Mr. Cappe translates the words, 'the world was made for him,' understanding by the world the Jewish dispensation, Gal. iv. 3; . . . The reader will judge which of these interpretations is to be preferred."
- (m.) *He came to his own, &c.* "Mr. Cappe's version is, 'He came into his own country, and his countrymen received him not.'"

- (n.) *gave authority to be the children of God.* "to participate of spiritual gifts, . . . to be partakers of a divine nature."
- (o.) *believe in his name.* "received him, believed in him and honoured him as the word of God. A person's name is a Hebraism to express a person himself. Jer. xxxiii. 9; Rev. xi. 13; Ps. xx. 1. Cappe."
- (p.) *who were born, &c.* "to which privileges they were born, not by natural descent nor by proselytism, . . . but the pure good-will of God. Cappe. The clause, 'nor of the will of man,' is omitted in the text of the Vatican manuscript, and has the appearance of a marginal gloss. Newcome. Griesbach."<sup>1</sup>
- (q.) *Or, Nevertheless, the Word was flesh, or, a man.* . . . "Though this first preacher of the gospel was honoured with such signal tokens of divine confidence and favour, though he was invested with so high an office, he was nevertheless a *mortal man*. Cappe." . . .
- (r.) *we beheld his glory.* "we were witnesses to his miracles, his resurrection, the descent of the holy spirit, &c."
- (s.) *as of the only son.* "'only begotten son,' N. This expression does not refer to any peculiar mode of derivation of existence, but is used to express merely a higher degree of affection. . . . Mr. Lindsey observes, that 'only begotten' is most gross and improper language to be used in English, especially with respect to Deity."

Dr. John Bellamy's New Translation of the Bible was published in London in 1818-21, under the patronage of the Prince Regent. The work was highly pretentious and unsatisfactory, and called forth severe criticisms, which appeared at the time in the Quarterly Review. In defense, a pamphlet was issued, entitled, *Reasons for a New Translation*, by Sir James B. Burges, in which the author rashly asserted that the Authorized version had been made almost entirely from the Vulgate, and that it was very deficient in scholarship. This controversy was the occasion of two excellent works. One of these was published by J. W. Whittaker in 1819, which was a *Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures*; to which were added, *Remarks on Mr. Bellamy's Translation*. The other work was a *Vindication of*

<sup>1</sup> There is no note of this omission in Tischendorf's *Tauchnitz edition of N. T.* Leipzig, 1869.

our Authorized Translation and of Preceding English Versions, by Rev. H. J. Todd, which also appeared in 1819. The whole tendency of this controversy, and of the many unfortunate attempts toward new translations, was favorable to the Authorized version. The demerits of Dr. Bellamy's translation will appear even from the following specimen:<sup>1</sup>

Gen. II. 21-25. Now JEHOVAH GOD caused an inactive state to fall upon the man and he slept; then he brought one to his side; whose flesh he had enclosed in her place. Thus JEHOVAH GOD built the substance of the other, which he took for the man, even a woman; and he brought her, to the man. And the man said; Thus this time, bone after my bone; also flesh after my flesh; for this he will call woman; because she was received by the man. Therefore a man will leave, even his father and his mother; for he will unite with his wife; and they shall be, for one flesh. Now they were both of them prudent; the man and his wife, for they had not shamed themselves.

The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, commonly styled the New Testament, were edited by Alexander Campbell, after the translations by Doctors George Campbell, James Macknight, and Philip Doddridge, in January, 1826. Alexander Campbell came to this country in 1809. Being dissatisfied with all Christian sects and human creeds, he set about founding a new denomination, known as Campbellites, Disciples, or Christians, with the Bible as their only rule of faith. As he was dissatisfied with all received creeds, so he was with the received version of the Bible upon which they were founded. Hence he determined to put forth a new translation. For this purpose he selected Dr. George Campbell's Version of the Gospels, Macknight's Translation of the Epistles, and Doddridge's Translation of

<sup>1</sup> Copy in Harvard College Library. Horne's *Intro.*, II., *App.*, 213. Smith's *Bible Dict.* Art. *Version Authorized.* IV., 3439.



the Acts and Revelation. In the preface to the third edition which appeared in 1832, Mr. Campbell says: in the first edition "we attempted little or nothing on our own responsibility. The emendations substituted, except in a few instances, were from other translators of note, or from one of the three authors of the work." But for the changes made in the third edition he holds himself responsible, and plumes himself upon his qualifications as a reviser, claiming that: "We stand on the shoulders of giants, and, though of less stature, we can see as far as they; or like the wren on the back of the eagle, we have as large a horizon as the eagle, which has carried us above the clouds." After this we ought to be prepared for the claim set up in the appendix to the fourth edition, which is: "This edition being the ultimatum of our critical labors, in comparing, reviewing, and reconsidering our own disquisitions, as well as those of many others, living and dead; . . . exhibits as we humbly conceive, a correct and perspicuous translation of the Sacred Writings of the New Institution, in a style so modernized, and yet so simple, exact, and faithful to the original, as to render it more intelligible than any version in our language." Instead of chapters and verses, the text is divided into sections and paragraphs; yet for the sake of reference, the numbering of chapter and of verse of the Authorized version is retained in the margin. As examples of the translation, take single extracts from Sections II. and III. of the Gospel of Matthew, or as the heading reads: THE TESTIMONY OF MATTHEW LEVI, THE APOSTLE. [*First Published in Judea, A. D. 38.*]<sup>1</sup>

Matt. III. 1-11. In those days appeared John the *Immerser*, who proclaimed in the wilderness of Judea, saying, Reform, for the Reign of Heaven approaches. For this is he of whom the Prophet Isaiah speaks in these

<sup>1</sup> These extracts are from "THE SACRED WRITINGS of the Apostles and Evangelists, . . . Commonly styled THE NEW TESTAMENT. . . Prefaces, Various Emendations, And An Appendix By Alexander Campbell. 4th edition. Cincinnati, 1860."

words. "The voice of one proclaiming in the wilderness, prepare a way for the Lord, make for him a straight passage." . . . . .

But he seeing many Pharisees and Sadducees coming to him to receive immersion, said to them, Offspring of vipers, who has prompted you to flee from the impending vengeance? Produce then, the proper fruit of reformation; and presume not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham for our father, for I assure you, that of these stones God can raise children to Abraham. . . . I, indeed, immerse you in water, into reformation, but he who comes after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to carry. He will immerse you in the Holy Spirit, and in fire.

V. 3-22. Happy the poor who repine not; for the kingdom of Heaven is theirs! Happy they who mourn; for they shall receive consolation! . . . . .

You are the salt of the earth. If the salt become insipid, how shall its saltness be restored? . . .

You are the light of the world. A city situate on a mountain must be conspicuous. . . . .

. . . . . You have heard that it was said to the ancients, "You shall not commit murder; for whosoever commits murder shall be obnoxious to the judges." But I say to you, whosoever is angry with his brother unjustly, shall be obnoxious to the judges; whosoever shall call him fool, shall be obnoxious to the council; but whosoever shall call him miscreant, shall be obnoxious to hell fire.

It is a relief to turn from such efforts, as many of the above, to the modest labors of Dr. Noah Webster, whose edition of the Bible, in the "Common Version with Amendments of the Language," was printed by Durrie and Peck, New Haven, 1833. The design of Dr. Webster in this edition of the Bible, was to correct grammatical inaccuracies; to substitute modern for obsolete words; to change indelicate words and phrases into language less offensive; to correct a few obvious errors in the translation, and to illustrate a few obscure passages. In performing this task, he says: "I have been careful to avoid

unnecessary innovations, and to retain the general character of the style." In his introduction he gives an extended list of the changes introduced, with full explanations for the same. The following are a few selected examples:

"*Who* is substituted for *which*, when it refers to persons."

"*Its* is substituted for *his*, when it refers to plants and things without life."

"*To* is used for *unto*. This latter word is not found in the Saxon books, and as it is never used in our present popular language, it is evidently a modern compound. . . . It has been rejected by almost every writer for more than a century."

"*Why* is substituted for *wherefore*, when inquiry is made: as, *why* do the wicked live? Job 21: 7."

"*Number* for *tell*, when used in the sense of *count*. Gen. 15, 5, &c."

"*Border* or *limit* for *coast*. In present usage, *coast* is never used to express the border, frontier, or the extremity of a kingdom, or district of inland territory. Its application is wholly or chiefly to land contiguous to the sea. Its application in the scriptures is, in most cases, to a border of inland territory. . . . Its use in most passages of scripture is as improper now, as the *coast* of Worcester, in Massachusetts, or the *coast* of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania."

"*Would God*; *would to God*. These phrases occur in several passages in which they are not authorized by the original language, in which the name of the Supreme Being is not used; but the insertion of them in the version, has given countenance to the practice of introducing them into discourses and public speeches, with a levity that is incompatible with a due veneration for the name of God. In Job 14. 13, the same Hebrew words are rendered *O that*, the common mode of expressing an ardent wish; and I have used the same words in other passages. See Ex. 16: 3; Deut. 28: 67."

"*God forbid*, is a phrase which may be viewed in the same light as the foregoing. It is several times used in the version, and without any authority from the original languages, for the use of the name of God. The Greek phrase thus rendered in the New Testament, signifies only, 'Let it not be' or 'I wish it not to be.' . . . I have followed Macknight in using for these words, '*By no means*.'"

Noah Webster's attainments as a lexicographer eminently fitted him for his task, in which he spared no pains in con-

sulting the original languages and other helps. And "though his labors were not appreciated, yet we are glad to know that the work, so far as undertaken, was well done and that it will ever be a guide in this part of Biblical Revision." The following collation will further illustrate the character of the changes made by Dr. Webster:

- Matt. V. 21. Ye have heard that it was said *to* them of old time ; for :  
by them of old time.
- VII. 13. . . . and many there *are who go in by it* ; for :  
and many there *be which go in thereat*.
- VIII. 24. . . . insomuch that the *boat* ; for : . . . that the  
*ship* was covered with the waves.
- XVI. 13. . . . *who* do men say ; for : *whom* do men say that  
I the Son of man am ?
- XXV. 35. I was *hungry*, and ye gave me *food* ; for : I was *an hun-*  
*gered*, and ye gave me *meat*.
- XXVII. 63. So they went, and *having* sealed the stone, made the  
sepulcher *secure with a watch* ; for : So they went, and  
made the sepulchre *sure, sealing* the stone, and *setting*  
a watch.
- Luke VII. 4. . . . they besought him *earnestly* ; for : *instantly*.
- XV. 27. . . . because he hath received him *in health* ;  
for : . . . *safe and sound*.
- XVI. 30. . . . but if one *shall go to* them from the dead ;  
for : . . . but if one *went unto* them from the dead,  
they will repent.
- XXI. 6. . . . in which there shall not be left one stone  
upon another, that *will* not be thrown down ; for :  
. . . in *the* which there shall not be left one stone  
upon another that *shall* not be thrown down.
- I. Cor. IV. 13. . . . We are made as the filth of the world, the  
offscouring of all things to this day ; for : . . . we  
are made as the filth of the world, *and are* the  
offscouring of all things unto this day.

In this same year, but with very different results, was published a *minute revision* and *professed translation* of the New Testament, by Rodolphus Dickinson, with the following title: "A New and Corrected Version of the New Testament; or, a Minute Revision, and Professed Translation of the Original

Histories, Memoirs, Letters, Prophecies, and Other Productions of the Evangelists and Apostles; To which are subjoined a Few, Generally Brief, Critical, Explanatory, and Practical Notes. By Rodolphus Dickinson. . . . Boston, . . 1833." The design of Mr. D. seems to have been to translate the Bible into fashionable language, to put it into a modern dress, and thus make it acceptable to those whom he pleases to call "accomplished and refined persons." This not only appears in the translation, but is implied in his own significant questions introduced in the preface, which taken as a whole, is a most remarkable production. In seeking to magnify his own translation, he says with an air of triumph: "And when it is considered what an antiquated, and in other particulars forbidding aspect, the inspired writings, in their usual style and conformation, present to the view of many intelligent, refined and amiable persons, who might be induced to peruse them in a less interrupted and more inviting form, in connexion with the typographical execution here displayed, which, it is presumed, will be regarded by such, as no small improvement; can any valid objection be urged to the prevalent spirit and character of this undertaking? Why should the inestimable gift of God to man, be proffered in a mode that is unnecessarily repulsive? Why should the received translation be permitted to perpetuate, to legalize, and almost to sanctify, many and unquestionable defects? While various other works, and especially those of the most trivial attainment, are diligently adorned with a splendid and sweetly flowing diction, why should the mere, uninteresting identity and paucity of language be so exclusively employed, in rendering the word of God? Why should the Christian scriptures be divested even of decent ornament? Why should not an edition of the heavenly institutes be furnished for the reading-room, saloon, and toilet, as well as for the church, school, and nursery? for the literary and accomplished gentleman, as well as for the plain and unlettered citizen? . . . . . Why should the Bible be stationary, amid the progress of refinement and letters? Why, in antique fashion, should it remain solitary,

in the enchanting and illimitable field of modern improvements?"<sup>1</sup>

The above is enough and more than enough, unless we suffer this poor man to speak a word in respect to himself and his translation, in which he declares that "It is a source of self-gratulation, that a happy concurrence of events has, for a considerable period, placed me in a situation, which by withdrawing me from the contentions on theological topics, that have long distracted so great a portion of our country, has conduced to cherish a dispassionate spirit, and enabled me, in coincidence with my course of reading and reflection, to approach this undertaking, with views propitious to the cause of ingenuousness, truth, integrity, and impartial observation; and with a mind unperturbed by disgusting, sectarian singularities. . . . . I have also disdained the obsequious and servile predicament, of floating, at random, in the wake of others. The original has been my compass, the commentaries, my explanatory chart; and the principles of the highest authorities, my general guide; . . . and ever reserving to myself, in its most unshackled exercise, the invaluable privilege of private judgment."<sup>2</sup>

In his plan he discarded all divisions, either of chapters or verses, and all numberings as well. This translation was severely criticised at the time of its first appearance; and though it was not, as might seem from the preface, an irreverent undertaking, yet it was deserving of all the severity it provoked, as will appear from the few following specimens. For the sake of reference the chapters and verses are here noted.

Matt. I. 1. A REGISTER of the lineage of Jesus Christ.

V. 21, 22. You have heard that it was announced to the ancients,  
Thou shalt do no murder, and he who commits it, will  
be amenable to the judges. But I affirm to you, that

<sup>1</sup> Dickinson's *Corrected Version of N. T.*, *Preface*, pp. xiii., xiv. Boston, 1833.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xv.

every one, malignantly incensed with his brother, will be liable to the judges ; and he who shall denounce his brother as a miscreant, will be subject to the sanhedrin ; but he who shall denounce him as an abandoned apostate, will be exposed to the gehenna of fire.

XIII. 24-26. He proposed to them another parable, saying, The kingdom of heaven may be compared to a field, in which the proprietor had sown good grain ; . . . . . And when the blade germinated and put forth the ear, then the darnel also appeared.

XXV. 14-21. [My arrival] may, therefore, be illustrated by a man, who intending to take a distant journey, called his own servants, and delivered to them his effects. . . . . And his master said to him, Well-done, good and provident servant ! you was faithful in a limited sphere. I will give you a more extensive superintendence ; participate in the happiness of your master.

Luke I. 41. And it happened, that when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the embryo was joyfully agitated.

II. 47. And all who heard him, were in a transport of admiration at his intelligence and replies.

IV. 21, 22. . . . . And he proceeded to say to them, To day this Scripture was fulfilled in your hearing. And the approbation of all was awarded him ; and they admired the elegance of language that flowed from his lips.

VIII. 1. And it afterwards occurred, that Jesus travelled through every city and village [of Galilee], proclaiming and elucidating the joyful intelligence of the kingdom of God.

John III. 2-5. He came to Jesus by night, and said to him, Teacher, we know that thou art an instructor emanated from God ; for no one can achieve these miracles which thou performest, unless God be with him. Jesus answered and said to him, Indeed, I assure you, that except a man be reproduced, he cannot realize the reign of God. Nicodemus says to him, How can a man be produced when he is mature ? Can he again pass into a state of embryo, and be produced ? Jesus replied, I most assuredly declare to you, that unless a man be produced of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God.

The notes are placed at the close of the volume under the

head of appendix. The *translator*, as Mr. D. styles himself, speaks of these notes as "few and generally brief"; and yet, though in much smaller type, they comprise about one-fifth of the whole volume. As notes they are less objectionable than the text, since they are taken almost wholly from Clarke, Doddridge, Macknight, and others.

In a list of Bibles which were first printed in 1835,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cotton gives a dateless copy of the Pentateuch, which he describes as a volume possessing "a considerable degree of interest, as exhibiting one attempt on the part of individual members of the Society of Friends to obtain an edition of the Bible fully adapted for audible reading in mixed family circles." The title reads: "The Pentateuch, or the five Books of Moses; principally designed to facilitate the audible or social reading of the Sacred Scriptures; illustrated with notes &c. By William Alexander." The plan adopted to secure this end was as the preface states: "When the difficulty has arisen from a single *word* or *expression*, the sense of the original is conveyed in terms adapted to the present design. But when a whole narrative or passage occurs unsuitable for a *mixed* audience, the verse or verses containing it will be in *Italic* characters, placed under the text and quite separated from it."<sup>2</sup> For lack of encouragement this work did not go beyond the Pentateuch.

This effort may or may not have originated in a false delicacy. To the pure all things are pure, and yet there is a true delicacy which ought to be recognized and respected. The examples of really offensive language in the Authorized version may be few, yet they ought to be changed in the interest of good taste at least.<sup>3</sup> It is sometimes said that language

<sup>1</sup> *Editions of English Bibles*, 1852, p. 124. Mr. C. expresses a doubt as to whether this volume belongs to 1835, 1828, or 1823. In his *appendix* he gives the preference to the year 1828.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> The reference here is to such texts in the A. V. as: Gen. xxxiv. 30; I. Kings xiv. 10; xvi. 11; II. Kings ix. 8; xviii. 27; Isaiah xxxvi. 12.



conceals as well as reveals. This is eminently true of the French, but scarcely so of the Anglo-Saxon. The Saxon tongue is honest in its utterances, speaking out even to baldness the thing it means. Then words degenerate ; abused by the low and vulgar they become tainted. Besides, the imagination of mankind is sadly corrupted, seeing evil where none is intended. Too great care, therefore, cannot be used in selecting words and phrases for translating the Scriptures. And yet the squeamish taste of single individuals, or that of a prudish age, is an unsafe criterion of judgment. It was a youthful Presbyterian minister, who in reading from the pulpit the thirteenth chapter of Luke's Gospel, changed the last clause of the eighth verse, so that it read: . . . "till I shall dig about it, and *manure* it."

Thus far have been noticed a few examples of individual efforts towards a revision of the Authorized version. None of these was undertaken with the design of supplanting the received version, excepting in limited circles. But in 1851 a public attempt was made by the American Bible Society to introduce a corrected edition of the Authorized version, which they printed and continued to circulate for some six years. Though undertaken as a public duty and with the praiseworthy desire of having "a standard Bible, free from typographical errors, discrepancies, and other blemishes," yet the society had no thought of revising the Authorized version of the Bible. They proposed simply minor corrections, and for this work they supposed, and not without reason, that they possessed the requisite authority. So that as early as 1847, when the superintendent of printing pointed out discrepancies in editions of the Bibles published in this country; also in American, compared with English editions: the Board of Managers resolved upon the work of collation for the sake of a standard copy. The corrections to be made were to include, orthography, capital letters, words in italics, and punctuation. After nineteen months of careful labor the sub-committee reported, "that in connection with the collator they

had gone through the text of the entire Bible, and that new plates were in the process of preparation in conformity with the corrected copy." In illustrating the necessity of their labors they reported, "that the number of the variations recorded by the collator, solely in the text and punctuation of the six copies compared, falls little short of thirty-four thousand. Yet of all this great number there is not one which mars the integrity of the text, or affects any doctrine or precept of the Bible." The Octavo Reference Bible, thus corrected, was adopted by the Committee on Versions as the standard copy of the society. In 1851 they began to print and publish Bibles after this revised standard. The work went on quietly for some six years, when in 1857 a pamphlet was published by an episcopal clergyman of Baltimore, in which, though no specific charges were brought against the Bible Society, yet it reflected severely upon them for their "half-way adventure" towards a new version. The alarm spread from pamphlets to newspapers, and from newspapers to monthly periodicals, finding its way at length into ecclesiastical bodies and auxiliary societies. The first protest came from an auxiliary society in Maryland in 1857, in the form of a "Memorial by the hands of a special deputation strongly urging the Board, if they could not give the positive assurance that no alterations whatever of the kind alleged had been made, at least to recede promptly from any and every such instance." Other auxiliaries sent up similar remonstrances; and Bible Society agents in different states testified to the growing dissatisfaction in their several fields of labor.

In compliance with this wide-spread public sentiment, the Bible Society through its Board of Managers, in February, 1858, revoked this revised standard; not, however, till the question had been freely discussed between the Board and the Committee on Versions, and finally referred to a select committee of nine persons for their consideration and final decision. The report of this committee was adopted, which, while it recommended "going back" so far as rectifying unconstitutional changes were concerned, at the same time allowed

necessary changes for the sake of "intrinsic correctness," on the ground of the "unanimous consent of Christian scholars." This action, which took a middle ground, was accepted, and became the occasion of peace. As an illustration of the changes made, take the following selected examples from the standard edition of 1851:

Rom. IV. 1. What shall we say then that Abraham, our Father, as pertaining to the flesh hath found. The pointing here differs from former editions by leaving off the comma after *flesh* and connecting it with *hath found*, and thus giving a very different meaning, which may be understood as, what (of justification) hath Abraham our father found (or gained) through the flesh (or through efforts of his own independent of grace). But as this punctuation involved a radical exegetical change, the society gave it up for the old pointing after *flesh*, thus referring to Abraham as their natural father.

I. Cor. XVI. 22. If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema. Maran atha. Here the period after *Anathema* takes the place of the comma in former editions. And doubtless this is the correct pointing, since *Maran atha* is a distinct phrase, signifying the *Lord cometh*. In this case the society unwisely went back to the old punctuation.

Rev. XIII. 8. And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain, from the foundation of the world. This is another example of the exegetical importance of punctuation. The above pointing is in accordance with the society's new standard, and connects the clause, *from the foundation of the world*, with *written*, not, *slain*. But they receded from this by dropping the comma after *slain*, thus leaving the reader to interpret as he may think best.

Rev. IV. 5. . . . and (*there were*) seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven *spirits* of God. This is an example of the use of the small initial letter in printing the word *spirit*. The rule adopted by the society was, that when the word *spirit* referred "to the Spirit of God, a divine agent," it must be printed with a capital initial; but when

it referred "to other spiritual beings, or the spirit of man," it must be printed with a small initial letter. But as this rule involved in this case an important exegetical decision, they receded from it, and now print the passage:—which are the seven *Spirits* of God.

Matt. II. 6. And thou Bethlehem, (*in*) the land of *Judah*. A correction in the spelling of a proper name, which ought to have been retained, instead of the old form *Juda*, to which they returned. So also they changed the orthography of the words, *Sion*, *Noe*, *Core*, to *Zion*, *Noah*, *Korah*, together with other proper names; but these corrections were given up.

I. Tim. II. 9. . . . Not with *braided* hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array. In this change from the obsolete form *broidered*, the society persevered and now print *braided* hair.

Similar examples to the above might be multiplied, but these are sufficient to show the kind of sacrifices made by the Committee on Versions; sufficient also to occasion a regret that the work could not have been entered upon with such consent as to have insured results acceptable to all concerned, in this country at least. But if this failure in instituting a few corrections, leaves the way open for a revision more thorough and satisfactory, it may be well.<sup>1</sup>

In 1857 appeared A Critical Revision of the Gospel of St. John, and several of St. Paul's Epistles, by Five Clergymen of the English Church." The revisers disclaimed any purpose on their part to revise the New Testament for general use, but rather to give an example of the way in which an acceptable revision might be made. In this their work commends

<sup>1</sup> Compare the *New Englander*, Feb., 1859, Art. *Revision of Eng. Bible*; also for May, 1859, Art. *Common Version and Biblical Revision*; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oct., 1863, Art. *Exegetical Punctuation of the New Testament*; McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopedia*, Art. *Authorized Version*; *Statements and Documents*, published by the late Committee on Versions. New York, 1858.

itself, illustrating as it does that a critical revision is possible without injuring the general character of the Authorized version. In their work the revisers followed the Authorized version, excepting in cases where in their judgment it was inaccurate.<sup>1</sup> The following is a specimen from the Gospel of John :

John XXI. 15-17. So when they had dined, Jesus said to Simon Peter, Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs. He saith to him the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Keep my sheep. He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? . . . And he said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus said unto him, Feed my sheep.

The translation of the New Testament by Rev. L. A. Sawyer was published in Boston in 1858. Mr. Sawyer claims for his work that it is a strict and literal rendering of the Greek, and that "it adopts, however, except in the prayers, a thoroughly modern style, and makes freely whatever changes are necessary for this purpose."<sup>2</sup> In his claims he manifests a very different spirit from the scholarly modesty of such men as Alford and Ellicott, who were among those mentioned above who revised the Gospel of John and several Epistles of Paul. The Greek text followed by Mr. Sawyer was that of Tischendorf, published at Leipsic in 1850; consequently the variations in many instances are attributable to the text and not to the translator. In the preface, however, Mr. Sawyer notes some cases in which he has not followed Tischendorf's text; as "in omitting Jesus as the proper name of Barabbas, in two

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to St. John's Gospel, New Englander*, Feb., 1859, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> *Preface, Sawyer's Translation of N. T.*, p. 1. Boston, 1858.

instances in Matt. xxv. 4, and occasionally in punctuation, and have retained two important interpolations in the text, duly noted as such, Mark xvii. and John x. 8."<sup>1</sup> The first of these makes a separate chapter in his system of dividing the text, with the following heading: AN ADDITION BY AN UNKNOWN WRITER. The second reference comprises the account of the woman taken in adultery, and is introduced by these words in brackets: [An early interpolation but probably true]; which are in the text.

Another peculiarity of this volume is its divisions of chapters and verses, which ignores entirely the numbering in the Authorized version, and thereby renders comparison of particular passages very inconvenient. Mr. Sawyer's attempt toward a modernized style, though open to objections, is by no means so offensive as some other similar efforts. The following examples are given as an illustration of the style of the work. The numbers of chapters and verses, or of paragraphs rather, refer to his own divisions.

Matt. III. 1. And in those days came John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness of Judea, saying, Change your minds, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand.

V. 2. . . . A city situated on a mountain cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a modius [1,916 gallon measure], but on a candlestick, and it shines to all in the house.

3. . . . I tell you truly, you shall not go out thence till you have paid the last quadrans [4 mills].

7. . . . give us to-day our essential bread.

XI. 4. . . . and while the men slept, his enemy came and sowed poisonous darnel in the midst of the wheat, and went away. But when the stalk grew up and bore fruit, then the poisonous darnel appeared.

XXIII. 3. . . . And they gave him thirty [shekels] of silver [\$16.80].

Luke IV. 1. . . . And he went into all the region about the Jordan, preaching the baptism of a change of mind for the forgiveness of sins.

<sup>1</sup> *Preface, Sawyer's Translation of N. T.*, p. ix.

- John I. 1. . . . This [Word] was in the beginning with God. All things existed through him, and without him not one thing existed, which existed.
- VII. 1. . . . And there was a certain man there who had been sick thirty-eight years. Jesus seeing him lying, and knowing that he had now been sick a long time, said to him, Do you wish to become well?
- VIII. 2. . . . Philip answered him, Two hundred denarii [\$23] worth of bread is not sufficient for them, that each may take a little.
4. . . . Then having gone about twenty-five or thirty stadiums [3 or 3 1-2 miles], they saw Jesus walking on the lake and coming near the ship, and they were afraid.
- XXII. 4. But Thomas, one of the twelve, called the Twin, was not with them when Jesus came. . . . but he said to them, Unless I see in his hands the impression of the nails, and put my finger in the impression of the nails, and put my hand in his side, I will not believe.

The American Bible Union was organized by seceders from the Baptist American and Foreign Bible Society. The object of this organization was "to procure and circulate the most faithful versions of the Sacred Scriptures in all languages throughout the world." Accordingly the Union provided for a revision of the New Testament by a number of scholars working independently of each other. The preliminary work was done between the years 1850 and 1860. This tentative work was printed on a large page, in three columns, with the Greek text in the center, the Common version on the left, and the New revision on the right, for the sake of convenient comparison, and sent forth inviting suggestions and criticisms. In 1866 the second revision of the New Testament was published in New York. The work of revision was extended to the Old Testament also. The revision of the book of Genesis was published in 1868, the Psalms in 1869, and Proverbs in 1871; Joshua, Judges and Ruth were issued in 1878, and the prophecy of Isaiah is in process of being stereotyped. In a statement of the Board made in May, 1878, they say that "on the whole Pentateuch exhaustive labor has been bestowed, as,

indeed upon the whole Sacred Canon, the lack of funds alone holds them back."

In printing, the paragraph form is adopted, though for the sake of reference the numbering of chapters and verses of the Authorized version is retained, excepting in cases where such numbering breaks the connection. Another peculiarity in the printing is that poetical passages are put in the form of poetry. The following important rules were prescribed for the revisers as guides in their work :

- I. The Greek text, critically edited, with known errors corrected, must be followed.
- II. The Common English version must be the basis of revision, and only such alterations must be made as the exact meaning of the text and the existing state of the language may require.
- III. The exact meaning of the inspired text, as that text expressed it to those who understood the original Scriptures at the time they were first written, must be given in corresponding words and phrases, so far as they can be found in the English language, with the least possible obscurity or indefiniteness.<sup>1</sup>

The names of such Biblical scholars as Doctors Conant, Hackett and Kendrick, connected with the revision, give assurance of great excellence in the work. And yet by the one peculiarity, in the use of *immerse*, the translation limits itself to the Baptist denomination. As a specimen of the translation take the following examples, some of which are improvements :<sup>2</sup>

- Matt. III. 1, 2. In those days comes John the Immerser, preaching in the wilderness of Judæa, and saying : Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.
- 13, 14. Then Jesus comes from Galilee to the Jordan, to John, to be immersed by him, But John sought to hinder him, saying : I have need to be immersed by thee, and dost thou come to me ?

<sup>1</sup> *Reports and Documents*, American Bible Union, 1868, 1878. *New Englander*, for Feb. 1859, p. 157. *Smith's Bible Dict.*, Art. *Version*, *Authorized*.

<sup>2</sup> *New Testament*, American Bible Union, Second Revision, 1873. New York and London.



- V. 3. Happy the poor in spirit; . . . . .  
 4 Happy they that mourn; . . . . .  
 12. Rejoice and exult; because great is your reward in heaven.
- VI. 12. And forgive us our debts, as also we forgave our debtors.  
 13. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.  
 22. The lamp of the body is the eye.  
 25. . . . . Is not the life more than food, and the body than raiment?
- XI. 23. And thou, Capernaum, that was exalted to heaven, shalt go down to the underworld.
- XII 17. That it might be fulfilled which was spoken through Isaiah the prophet, saying :
18. Behold my servant, whom I chose,  
 My beloved, in whom my soul is well pleased.  
 I will put my spirit upon him,  
 And he will declare judgment to the Gentiles.
19. He will not strive, nor cry ;  
 Nor will any one hear his voice in the streets.
20. A bruised reed he will not break,  
 And smoking flax he will not quench,  
 Till he send forth judgment unto victory.
21. And in his name will Gentiles hope.
- Rom. VIII. 1. There is therefore now no condemnation to those who are in Christ Jesus.<sup>1</sup>
- I. Cor. XIII. 1. Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, . . . . .
- II. Cor. V. 20. We are then ambassadors on behalf of Christ, as though God were beseeching by us; on behalf of Christ we pray ; Be reconciled to God.<sup>2</sup>
- Rev. XXII. 14. Happy are they who wash their robes,<sup>3</sup> that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter by the gates into the city.

<sup>1</sup> The last clause which reads: "who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit," is omitted by the authority of Lachmann, Tischendorf, Green, Alford, and Tregelles; but no intimation of the omission is given in this version.

<sup>2</sup> A nice distinction is here made by leaving out the *you* of the *A. V.*

<sup>3</sup> This change is in accordance with the critical texts of Lachmann, Tischendorf, Green, and Alford; but no note is made of it.

By far the most important of recent attempts towards a revision of the Authorized version, is that which is now being made by the combined labors of English and American scholars. This work began to take shape in the year 1870, when the convocation of Canterbury appointed a committee "to report on the desirableness of a revision of the Authorized Version of the Old and New Testaments." The report of this committee was made on May 3rd, 1870, and embodied the following resolutions:<sup>1</sup>

1. 'That it is desirable that a revision of the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures be undertaken.
2. 'That the revision be so conducted as to comprise both marginal renderings and such emendations as it may be found necessary to insert in the text of the Authorized Version.
3. 'That in the above resolutions we do not contemplate any new translation of the Bible, or any alteration of the language, except when in the judgment of the most competent scholars such change is necessary.
4. 'That in such necessary changes, the style of the language employed in the existing version be closely followed.
5. 'That it is desirable that Convocation should nominate a body of its own members to undertake the work of revision, who shall be at liberty to invite the cooperation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong.'

These resolutions passed both the Upper and Lower Houses, and a joint committee was appointed "to consider and report to Convocation a *scheme of revision* on the principles of the above resolutions." At their first meeting, May 25th, 1870, the following resolutions were adopted:<sup>2</sup>

- 'I. That the Committee, appointed by the Convocation of Canterbury at its last Session, separate itself into two Companies, the one for the revision of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament, the other for the revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament.
- 'II. That the Company for the revision of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament consist of the Bishops of St. Davids, Llandaff,

<sup>1</sup> Westcott's *Hist. of the Eng. Bible*, p. 340. London, 1872.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 342.

Ely, Lincoln, and Bath and Wells, and of the following Members from the Lower House, Archdeacon Rose, Canon Selwyn, Dr. Jebb, and Dr. Kay.

- ‘ III. That the Company for the revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament consist of the Bishops of Winchester, Gloucester and Bristol, and Salisbury, and of the following Members from the Lower House, the Prolocutor, the Deans of Canterbury and Westminster, and Canon Blakesley.
- ‘ IV. That the first portion of the work to be undertaken by the Old Testament Company, be the revision of the Authorized Version of the Pentateuch.
- ‘ V. That the first portion of the work to be undertaken by the New Testament Company, be the revision of the Authorized Version of the Synoptical Gospels.
- ‘ VI. That the following Scholars and Divines be invited to join the Old Testament Company :

DR. W. L. ALEXANDER, Professor of Theology, Congregational Church Hall, Edinburgh.

MR. T. CHENERY, Professor of Arabic, Oxford.

REV. F. C. COOK, Canon of Exeter.

DR. A. B. DAVIDSON, Prof. of Hebrew, Free Church College, Edinburgh.

DR. B. DAVIES, Prof. of Hebrew, Baptist College, Regent Park, London.

DR. P. FAIRBAIRN, Principal of the Free Church College, Glasgow.

DR. F. FIELD, (Editor of the Septuagint, Origen's Hexapla, &c.)

DR. GINSBURG, (Editor of Canticles, Ecclesiastes, &c.)

DR. F. W. GOTCH, Principal of the Baptist College, Bristol.

REV. B. HARRISON, Archdeacon of Maidstone.

REV. S. LEATHES, Professor of Hebrew, King's College, London.

REV. J. MCGILL, Professor of Oriental Languages, St. Andrews.

DR. R. PAYNE SMITH, Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford, (now Dean of Canterbury).

DR. J. J. S. PEROWNE, Canon of Llandaff, (now Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge).

DR. E. H. PLUMPTRE, Prof. of the Exegesis of N. T., King's College, London.

DR. E. B. PUSEY, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford.

DR. W. WRIGHT, Professor of Arabic, Cambridge.

MR. W. A. WRIGHT, Bursar of Trinity College, Cambridge.

- ‘ VII. That the following Scholars and Divines be invited to join the New Testament Company :<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The names of this as well as of the preceding company are after Dr. Moulton's list. See *Hist. of the Eng. Bible*, pp. 217, 218.

- DR. R. C. TRENCH, Archbishop of Dublin.  
 DR. J. ANGUS, President of the Baptist College, Regent Park, London.  
 DR. J. EADIE, Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis of the United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow.  
 DR. F. J. A. HORT, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.  
 REV. W. G. HUMPHRY, Prebendary of St. Paul's.  
 DR. B. H. KENNEDY, Canon of Ely, and Regius Professor of Greek, Cambridge.  
 DR. W. LEE, Archdeacon of Dublin, and Lecturer in Divinity.  
 DR. J. B. LIGHTFOOT, Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, and Canon of St. Paul's.  
 DR. W. MILLIGAN, Professor of Divinity, Aberdeen.  
 DR. W. F. MOULTON, Professor of Classics, Wesleyan College, Richmond.  
 DR. J. H. NEWMAN, formerly Rector of the Roman Catholic University, Dublin.  
 DR. S. NEWTH, Principal, New College, London.  
 DR. A. ROBERTS, Professor of Humanity, St. Andrews.  
 DR. G. VANCE SMITH, (joint author of a Revised Translation of the Scriptures).  
 DR. R. SCOTT, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, now Dean of Rochester.  
 DR. F. H. SCRIVENER, (editor of the Cambridge Paragraph Bible, &c.).  
 DR. S. P. TREGELLES, (editor of the Greek Testament).  
 DR. C. J. VAUGHAN, Master of the Temple.  
 DR. B. F. WESTCOTT, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

' VIII. That the General Principles to be followed by both Companies be as follows :

1. To introduce as few alterations as possible into the Text of the Authorized Version consistently with faithfulness.
2. To limit, as far as possible, the expressions of such alterations to the language of the Authorized and earlier English versions.
3. Each Company to go twice over the portion to be revised, once provisionally, the second time finally, and on principles of voting as hereinafter is provided.
4. That the Text to be adopted be that for which the evidence is decidedly preponderating; and that when the Text so adopted differs from that from which the Authorized Version was made, the alteration be indicated in the margin.
5. To make or retain no change in the Text on the second final revision by each Company, except *two-thirds* of those present approve the same, but on the first revision to decide by simple majorities.

6. In every case of proposed alteration that may have given rise to discussion, to defer the voting thereupon till the next Meeting, whenever the same shall be required by one-third of those present at the Meeting, such intended vote to be announced in the notice for the next Meeting.
  7. To revise the headings of chapters, pages, paragraphs, italics, and punctuation.
  8. To refer, on the part of each Company, when considered desirable, to Divines, Scholars, and Literary Men, whether at home or abroad, for their opinions.
- IX. That the work of each Company be communicated to the other as it is completed, in order that there may be as little deviation from uniformity in language as possible.

'X. That the Special or Bye-rules for each Company be as follows

1. To make all corrections in writing previous to the Meeting.
2. To place all the corrections due to textual considerations on the left hand margin, and all other corrections on the right hand margin.
3. To transmit to the Chairman, in case of being unable to attend, the corrections proposed in the portion agreed upon for consideration."<sup>1</sup>

Among those mentioned above who were invited to take part in the work, Canon Cook, Dr. Newman, and Dr. Pusey declined the invitation. Among the changes that have taken place in the Old Testament company, Bishop Thirlwall, Archdeacon Rose, Canon Selwyn, Prof. McGill, Prof. Fairbairn, Prof. Davies, and Dr. Weir have been removed by death; while the Bishop of Lincoln, Prof. Plumptre, and Canon Jebb offered their resignations, which were accepted. The following new members have been added: Mr. R. N. Bensly, Rev. J. Birrell, Dr. F. Chance, Rev. T. K. Cheyne, Mr. S. R. Driver, Dr. G. Douglas, Rev. C. J. Elliott, Rev. J. D. Geden, Rev. J. R. Lumby, Rev. A. H. Sayce, Rev. W. R. Smith, and Dr. D. H. Weir.

<sup>1</sup> Westcott's *History of Eng. Bible*, pp. 342-345. London, 1872.

In the New Testament company the following changes have taken place: Dr. Alford and Prof. McGill died in 1871; Dr. S. P. Tregelles, who on account of ill health was not able to take his seat, died in 1875; Dr. John Eadie was also removed by death. To this company were added Dr. Merivale, who resigned in 1871, Dr. David Brown, Dr. C. Wordsworth, and Rev. E. Palmer.<sup>1</sup>

The scholarship of the above companies is evident from such names as Alexander, Brown, Eadie, Ellicott, Fairbairn, Lightfoot, Milligan, Stanley, Scrivener, Tregelles, and Trench. Their catholicity cannot be called in question, since they are representative men "not only from all schools and parties of the Church of England, but from Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Wesleyans, and other Christian denominations." The New Testament committee entered upon their work June 22nd, 1870, in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey. A few days after this the Old Testament committee held its first meeting. Soon after the work began arrangements were agreed upon with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, by which the two University Presses would, in return for the copyright of the revised edition of the Bible, defray the cost of printing and other necessary expenses of the two companies. The revisers, however, were to give their time and labor free for the sake of the enterprise.<sup>2</sup>

In carrying out the original provision for inviting co-operation from abroad, Dr. J. Angus came to New York in August, 1870, with letters from Bishop Ellicott, chairman of the New Testament company, authorizing him to arrange for the formation of American companies to co-operate in the work of revision with the British companies. Dr. Angus conferred with Dr. Philip Schaff, of New York City, and the result was

<sup>1</sup> For the above changes compare Dr. Moulton's *Hist. Eng. Bible*, pp. 220, 221. London, 1878.

<sup>2</sup> During the progress of these negotiations it was decided to include the Apocrypha in the work of revision, each company agreeing to bear its share in the work.

the appointment of two American, to act in concert with the two British companies.

The following list comprises the American Old Testament company as originally formed :

- PROF. T. J. CONANT, D.D., Baptist, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 " GEORGE E. DAY, D.D., Congregationalist, New Haven, Conn.  
 " JOHN DE WITT, D.D., Reformed, New Brunswick, N. J.  
 " WM. HENRY GREEN, D.D., Presbyterian, Princeton, N. J.  
 " GEORGE E. HARE, D.D., Episcopalian, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 " CHARLES P. KRAUTH, D.D., Lutheran, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 " JOSEPH PACKARD, D.D., Episcopalian, Fairfax, Va.  
 " CALVIN E. STOWE, D.D., Congregationalist, Cambridge, Mass.  
 " JAMES STRONG, D.D., Methodist, Madison, N. J.  
 " C. V. A. VAN DYCK, M.D., Missionary, Beyroot, Syria.  
 " TAYLER LEWIS, LL.D., Reformed, Schenectady, N. Y.

The following comprises the American New Testament company as originally formed :

- BISHOP ALFRED LEE, D.D., Episcopalian, Wilmington, Delaware.  
 PROF. EZRA ABBOTT, D.D., LL.D., Unitarian, Cambridge, Mass.  
 REV. G. R. CROOKS, D.D., Methodist, New York City.  
 PROF. H. B. HACKETT, D.D., LL.D., Baptist, Rochester, N. Y.  
 " CHARLES HODGE, D.D., LL.D., Presbyterian, Princeton, N. J.  
 " A. C. KENDRICK, D.D., Baptist, Rochester, N. Y.  
 " MATTHEW B. RIDDLE, D.D., Reformed, Hartford, Conn.  
 " HENRY B. SMITH, D.D., LL.D., Presbyterian, New York City.  
 " J. HENRY THAYER, D.D., Congregationalist, Andover, Mass.  
 " W. F. WARREN, D.D., Methodist, Boston, Mass.  
 REV. E. A. WASHBURN, D.D., Episcopalian, New York City.  
 " THEO. D. WOOLSEY, D.D., LL.D., Congregationalist, New Haven, Conn.  
 PROF. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., Presbyterian, New York City.

The first meeting of the American committee was held on the seventh day of December, 1871, in the study of Dr. Schaff, No. 40 Bible House, New York, for the purpose of organization and the adoption of a constitution. Prof. Henry B. Smith, D.D., was chosen chairman, and Prof. George E.

Day, D. D., secretary. The following constitution was adopted:<sup>1</sup>

- ' I. The American Committee, invited by the British Committee engaged in the revision of the Authorized English Version of the Holy Scriptures to co-operate with them, shall be composed of Biblical scholars and divines in the United States.
- ' II. This Committee shall have power to elect its officers, to add to its number, and to fill its own vacancies.
- ' III. The officers shall consist of a President, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer. The President shall conduct the official correspondence with the British revisers. The Secretary shall conduct the home correspondence.
- ' IV. New members of the Committee, and corresponding members, must be nominated at a previous meeting, and elected unanimously by ballot.
- ' V. The American Committee shall co-operate with the British Companies on the basis of the principles and rules of revision adopted by the British Committee.
- ' VI. The American Committee shall consist of two companies, the one or the revision of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament, the other for the revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament.
- ' VII. Each Company shall elect its own Chairman and Recording Secretary.
- ' VIII. The British Companies will submit to the American Companies, from time to time, such portions of their work as have passed the first revision, and the American Companies will transmit their criticisms and suggestions to the British Companies before the second revision.
- ' IX. A joint meeting of the American and British Companies shall be held, if possible, in London, before final action.
- ' X. The American Committee to pay their own expenses.'

At this meeting a resolution was read and approved as adopted by the British committee, to the effect that copies of the first revision granted to the American companies should

<sup>1</sup> This constitution, also the above lists of the American Old and New Testament committees, were transcribed from Dr. Schaff's *Introduction to Revision of English Version of N. T.*, pp. xvi.-xviii. New York, 1873.



be held in confidence and in no way made public, since in the second revision important changes might be made. This grant accordingly was made July 17, 1872, and in due time copies of the revised version of the first three Gospels were received; also copies of the first revision of the books of Genesis, Exodus and Leviticus were received, and the books distributed among the members respectively of the two companies.<sup>1</sup> From the first the work has gone on with the utmost harmony between the English and American companies.

Since the original formation of the American Old Testament company, the following changes have taken place: Professors Charles M. Mead, D.D. (Congregationalist), Andover, Mass., and Charles A. Aiken, D.D. (Presbyterian), Princeton, N. J., were elected as members of the committee Dec. 27, 1872. Prof. Howard Osgood, D.D. (Baptist), Rochester, N. Y., and Rev. Talbot W. Chambers, D.D. (Presbyterian), were elected as members, respectively, in March and December, 1874. Tayler Lewis, LL.D., Professor Emeritus of Greek and Hebrew, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., died in 1877.

In the American New Testament company the following changes have taken place: Prof. James Hadley, LL.D. (Congregationalist), New Haven, Conn., was chosen a member of this company in October, 1872; he died on the fourteenth of November of the same year. Prof. Henry B. Smith, D.D., LL.D., attended but one session of the committee, being compelled to resign on account of ill health. He died in 1877. Prof. H. B. Hackett, D.D., LL.D., died in 1876. Prof. Charles Hodge, D.D., LL.D., died in 1878. Rev. G. R. Crooks, D.D., and Prof. W. F. Warren, resigned as they found it impracticable for them to attend. There were added to this company by election Prof. Charles Short, LL.D. (Episcopal), New York City, Oct. 5, 1872; Rev. Howard Crosby, D.D., LL.D. (Presbyterian), New York City, and Prof. Timothy Dwight, D.D. (Congregationalist), New Haven, Conn., Dec. 22, 1872; Prof. Thomas Chase, LL.D. (Friend), Haverford College, Pa., and

<sup>1</sup> Schaff's *Introduction to Revision of Eng. Version of N. T.*, p. xix.

Rev. J. K. Burr, D.D. (Methodist), Hoboken, N. J., respectively in March and May, 1873.<sup>1</sup>

The New Testament joint companies have completed their work, and the Revised New Testament will be published in a few weeks. The following information respecting the progress made by the Old Testament companies is from a private letter received from Prof. George E. Day, D.D., of New Haven, Conn., dated January 20, 1881: "The whole of the O. T. has been gone over *once* by both the English and American Companies, except Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and Solomon's Song, but the revision of these three books and the final revision of the others, will probably occupy from two to four years."

This new revision is remarkable in the history of revisions of the English Bible, in that it is international and interdenominational. Established on so broad a basis, the movement promises the best results. Then the times are most favorable. The blinding enthusiasm of recent discoveries in the field of Exegesis has passed away. Professed critics and Biblical scholars have had time to weigh and estimate aright the invaluable helps which have been brought to light. Besides, in the past history of the English language, probably there never was a time when the Saxon element of our language was so highly appreciated by scholars. In addition to this we have the pledge of the revisers that the simple language of our English Bible shall not be meddled with; that as few alterations in phraseology as possible shall be made, and even in these cases the style of the Authorized version shall be retained. And yet it is fruitless to speculate in regard to the reception, or rather final adoption, of this Anglo-American Revision. Certainly no new version or revision ever created such widespread expectation. Doubtless it will find a place on study tables and private book shelves, and as a critical

<sup>1</sup> The lists of the American companies above, with the changes that have taken place since their appointment, are here given as revised by Prof. George E. Day, D.D., Secretary of American Revision Committee.

work will attract intelligent readers of the Scriptures, but the unanswered question is, Will the people adopt it in the Church and in the family as their English Bible ?

Since the above was written, and after unexpected delay, the long looked-for Revised New Testament was published simultaneously in England and in this country, May 20, 1881. Upon its first issue the number of copies sold was something new in the book trade. The New York agent for the Oxford University press is reported as saying, before the book was issued, "that he had good reason to expect orders for 200,000 copies of the Oxford edition before the date of publication (May 17), notwithstanding the fact that half a dozen cheap reprints have already been announced all over the country." If reports in our public prints are true, his estimate fell short a hundred thousand, since upon the first issue it is said that 300,000 copies were sent out from New York city. Certainly no such revival of Bible interest, not only in the sale, but in the perusal of the Scriptures, which is just now extending throughout the whole country, has ever before been known. The columns of the secular as well as the religious press, are burdened with articles on the New revision. The tone of these articles is for the most part conciliatory, though in some instances there is noticeable a quiet opposition. The first impression upon a cursory examination of the New revision is unfavorable. Alterations simply as alterations, at first sight offend. It would seem that for a long time to come general approval must be withheld. The middle-aged say: "I am too old to give up my old familiar Bible." Those who are younger and who have looked with some interest for the appearance of the Revised version, are not a little "vexed over some of the improvements upon the Authorized version." Pastors of churches are quietly examining the work before they speak. Students of the Bible will find upon every page changes for the better, and will often wonder why more changes were not made. But its final adoption must depend upon the people. The wisest friends of the New revision are not anxious for its

hasty adoption. They remember that our present Bible was about forty years in gaining a permanent place in the hearts of the people. Yet in this case history will hardly repeat itself. What is done in this age must be done quickly. Independent of the real worth of this revision, a serious objection to adopting it in Church and family worship is, that changes in words and phrases attract universal attention, and thus awaken a critical spirit, which is a hindrance to devotion. Continued use, however, sooner or later must obviate such objection.

The title-page reads: "The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Translated out of the Greek: Being the Version set forth A. D. 1611 compared with the most Ancient Authorities and Revised A. D. 1881. Printed for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Cambridge at the University Press 1881." A card on the opposite page reads: "This edition is authorised by the American Committee of Revision"; and is signed by Philip Schaff, *President*, and George E. Day, *Secretary*. New York, May 20, 1881. There is here also the names of the English printers; also the imprint of J. B. Lippincott & Co., 715 and 717 Market street, Philadelphia.

The preface comprises a modest but clear statement of the work which the revisers set before themselves and their manner of doing it. There is no display of learning, but there is manifested a conscious ability and an honest purpose to discharge the responsibility imposed upon them. The preface is divided into several general heads: I. A short account is given of the Authorized version. II. The origin and progress of the Revised version. Under this head they say: "The whole time devoted to the work has been ten years and a half. The First Revision occupied about six years; the Second, about two years and a half. The remaining time has been spent in the consideration of the suggestions from America on the Second Revision, and of many details and reserved questions arising out of our own labours." III. A brief account of the particulars of the

present revision. Under this head, in speaking of the Greek text to be chosen, that they were by the instruction of the fourth rule, "to follow the authority of documentary evidence without deference to any printed text of modern times. . . . . Different schools of criticism have been represented among us, and have together contributed to the final result." In speaking of the translation, they say that by the first rule, "our task was revision, not re-translation," and yet they confess that they found themselves "constrained by faithfulness to introduce changes which might not at first sight appear to be included under the rule." By the second rule "alterations to be introduced should be expressed as far as possible, in the language of the Authorised Version or of the Versions that preceded it." They claim to have adhered to this rule, excepting in a few cases where they failed "to find any word in the older stratum of our language that appeared to convey the precise meaning of the original. There, and there only, we have used words of a later date ; but not without having first assured ourselves that they are to be found in the writings of the best authors of the period to which they belong." In regard to the marginal notes they say : "These Notes fall into four main groups: first, notes specifying such differences of reading as were judged to be of sufficient importance to require a particular notice ; secondly, notes indicating the exact rendering of words to which, for the sake of English idiom, we were obliged to give a less exact rendering in the text ; thirdly, notes, very few in number, affording some explanation which the original appeared to require ; fourthly, alternative renderings in difficult or debateable passages."

Under the head of supplementary matters, they enumerate : first, "the use of Italics," which they sought to diminish rather than increase ; second, the arrangement of the "Sacred Text in Paragraphs." The facilities for reference afforded by chapter and verse divisions, they have retained "by placing the numerals on the inside margin of each page" ; third, "the mode of printing quotations from the Poetical Books of the Old Testament." Their design in this was not only to direct the "atten-

tion to the poetic character of the quotation, but also to make its force and pertinence more fully felt"; fourth, "the punctuation," in which they declare that their "practice has been to maintain what has sometimes been called the heavier system of stopping, or, in other words, that system which, especially for convenience in reading aloud, suggests such pauses as will best ensure a clear and intelligent setting forth of the true meaning of the words"; and lastly, "the titles of the Books of the New Testament," which they deemed best to leave unchanged. They conclude their preface by "humbly commending their labours to Almighty God, and praying that his favour and blessing may be vouchsafed to that which has been done in his name, . . . . . that the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ may be more clearly and more freshly shewn forth to all who shall be readers of this Book."

The fourth rule laid down for the guidance of the revisers had special reference to the Greek text they were to adopt. Wisely they were not confined to any given Text by modern editors, but left free to make choice of that for which the evidence was "decidedly preponderating." And when any such reading differed from the *Textus Receptus*, they were to indicate the same in the margin. They have followed this rule but in part. So extensive were the Textual changes that the attempt to record them in the margin "proved inconvenient." As an offset against this omission, they state that "the University Presses have undertaken to print them in connexion with complete Greek texts of the New Testament."<sup>1</sup> In this connection the revisers rightly say in their preface, that "Textual criticism as applied to the Greek New Testament, forms a special study of much intricacy and difficulty, and even now leaves room for considerable variety of opinion among competent critics." In the first revision in every case

<sup>1</sup> *The New Testament in the Original Greek, according to the Text followed in the Authorized Version . . . together with the Variations adopted in the Revised Version.* Edited by Dr. Scrivener.

of various reading of the Greek, after full discussion, the decision was arrived at by a vote of the majority. But in the second revision, "a majority of two thirds was required to retain or introduce a reading at variance with the reading presumed to underlie the Authorised Version." This was in accordance with the fifth rule, and the revisers remark that under the workings of this rule, "many readings previously adopted were brought again into debate, and either re-affirmed or set aside." In the case of important changes demanded by Textual criticism, note is made of the same in the margin. The following examples are noticeable :

Matt. VI. 9-13. . . . . Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we *also have forgiven* our debtors. And *bring* us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil (*one*). The italics show the alterations made, which are the result of an honest application of Textual criticism to the received Greek text. These changes make sad havoc with sacred associations, and at first will strike harshly upon the ears of all. And yet so far as they are in accordance with a correct Greek text, they ought to be heartily welcomed. For, *our daily bread* the margin notes that the Greek reads: "*our bread for the coming day.*" For, *the evil (one)* the margin reads: "Or, *evil.*" For the omission of the doxology the margin reads: "Many authorities, some ancient, but with variations, add *For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever, Amen.*"<sup>1</sup>

Mar. XVI. 9-20. These twelve verses, which constitute the closing words of the Gospel according to Mark, find a place in the Revised version, but they are separated from the chapter by a wide paragraph space. The note in the margin reads: "The two oldest Greek manuscripts, and some other authorities, omit from ver. 9 to the end. Some other authorities have a different ending to the Gospel."<sup>2</sup>

John V. 3-4. In this passage a part of the third and the whole of the fourth verse is omitted from the text, though the

<sup>1</sup> Compare above, page 333.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, page 384.

portion omitted finds a place in the margin under the following note: "Many ancient authorities insert, wholly or in part, *waiting for the moving of the water: for an angel of the Lord went down at certain seasons into the pool and troubled the water: whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole, with whatsoever disease he was holden.*"<sup>1</sup>

- VII. 53.—VIII. 11. This passage, which relates to the case of the woman taken in adultery, finds a place in the Revised version, but it is put in brackets and is separated from the other text by wide paragraph spaces. The margin reads: "Most of the ancient authorities omit John vii. 53—viii. 11. Those which contain it vary much from each other."<sup>2</sup>
- Acts VIII. 37. This verse is omitted from the text, but finds a place in the margin in the following note: "Some ancient authorities insert wholly or in part, ver. 37. *And Philip said, If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.*"<sup>3</sup>
- I. John V. 7, 8. . . . For there are three who bear witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and the three agree in one. By comparison with the text of the Authorized version, it will be found that almost the whole of the seventh and a part of the eighth verse, has been omitted. Though this omission is without doubt correct, yet there is no note made of it in the margin.<sup>4</sup>

Considering the demands of Textual criticism, the revisers could not have dealt less strictly with these debatable passages. Even Biblical scholars and commentators have long indicated this line of treatment. Had the revisers yielded to strict critical demands, their dealings with these passages would have been far less lenient.

The grammatical defect in the Authorized version is its confusion in rendering Greek tenses. In some instances the aorist is rendered by the perfect tense, and contrariwise the

<sup>1</sup> Compare above, page 384.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, page 385.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pages 384, 385.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, pages 385, 386.



perfect by the aorist. Again, not unfrequently, for the present the past tense is substituted. By simply correcting these defects, the Revised version sheds new light upon the sacred page, and thus yields a fresher meaning to its readers. To illustrate this, a few examples are here given.

- Matt. II. 15. . . . Out of Egypt *did I call* my son. The A. V. has : *have I called* my son. By this rendering of the A. V. not only is the Greek grammar violated, but, according to Lightfoot, "a historical connection is severed." The original passage is in Hosea xi. 1, and reads : . . . *called* my son out of Egypt.
- Acts XIX. 2. . . . *Did ye receive* the Holy Ghost when ye believed? The A. V. reads : . . . *Have ye received* the Holy Ghost since ye believed? The intended inquiry here is not general as to any reception of the Holy Ghost "during a period since their baptism," as implied in the rendering of the A. V., but the inquiry is definite as to whether they received the Holy Ghost at the time they were received into the Church.
- II. Cor. V. 14. . . . that one died for all, therefore *all died*. "The rendering of the A. V., *then were all dead*," Alford says, "is inadmissible both from the construction of the original and the context."<sup>1</sup> The interpretation of the reading in the A. V. is that the death, here referred to, means, a death *through sin*. But the context implies and the rendering of the R. V. indicates, "a death *to sin*," which is doubtless correct, and is a very different idea.
- I. Cor. XV. 4, 12. . . . and that he *hath been raised* on the third day, . . . . that he *hath been raised* from the dead. The A. V. reads : . . . he *rose again* the third day, . . . . he *rose* from the dead. The restoration of the perfect in each of these verses is needful for the sake of the context. The apostle is urging in this connection "not that Christ once *rose* from the grave, but that *having risen*, he lives forever as a first fruit or earnest of the resurrection." This same verb is repeated

<sup>1</sup> See Commentary, *in loco*.

some five times after the twelfth verse, and in each case the A. V. renders it correctly ; since the meaning of the apostle became "so patent on the face of St. Paul's language, that our translators could not fail to see it."

II. Cor. XII. 2, 3. I *know* a man in Christ, fourteen years ago. . . .

And I *know* such a man. The A. V. reads in each case: I *knew*, "which is a mistake in grammar," says Alford, "and introduces serious confusion, making it seem as if the fourteen years ago were the date of the *knowledge*, not, as it really is, of the *vision*." Besides, the reading of the A. V. leaves it uncertain whether Paul refers to himself or to some other person as having seen the vision.

Acts II. 47. And the Lord added to them day by day those that *were being saved*. This is an improvement upon the A. V., which reads: such as *should be saved*. Alford well remarks upon this passage, "Nothing is implied by this word . . . whether all these *were finally saved*. It is only asserted that they were *in the way of salvation* when they were added to the Christian assembly."

The responsibility resting upon the revisers extended to the original text as well as to the translation of the Authorized version. And one of the grand results of this revision is that it furnishes to the English reader the accumulated fruits of the labors of modern Greek scholarship. The profound research and extent of the labors of Textual critics can scarcely be estimated, much less appreciated ; and yet whatever of new discoveries brought to light have been thoroughly scanned and passed upon by the revisers, and so far as approved by their judgment, embodied in their work. But the alterations introduced from this source are not as serious and sweeping as might have been expected. In the following miscellaneous examples not a few will be found in which the changes are for the better :

Mark VI. 20. For Herod feared John . . . and *kept him safe*. And when he heard him *he was much perplexed*. The A. V. reads: *and observed him*. . . . *he did many things*.

In the first clause the change is for the better. There is a conflict of authorities relating to the latter clause but the probabilities are in favor of the reading of the Revised version.

Luke XVIII. 12. . . . . I give tithes of all that *I get*. This is an important change and gives the correct meaning of the text which was that he paid tithes of all that he acquired and not what he *possessed* or had laid up, as it reads in the Authorized version.

Acts XXVI. 28. And Agrippa (*said*) unto Paul, *With but little persuasion thou wouldst fain make me a Christian*. This was said ironically and in every way different from the familiar reading of the A. V., . . . . . *almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian*, which would appear to have been a serious utterance of Agrippa. All who have read Alford or Lange are prepared for this change.

Gal. V. 17. . . . . That ye *may not* do the things that ye would. In this conflict as here depicted by Paul, between the flesh and the Spirit, the rendering of the A. V. would seem to make the flesh the stronger principle when it reads: . . . *so that ye cannot* do the things that ye would. But by this rendering of the Revised version the Spirit becomes the stronger power and according to the preceding verse, they who *walk by the Spirit shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh*.

II. Thess. II. 1. Now we beseech you, brethren, *touching* the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. The rendering of the A. V., *by* the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, introduces a formula of adjuration, "a construction which," according to Alford, "is not found in the New Testament." See his Commentary *in loco*.

I. Pet. II. 21. For hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for *you*, leaving *you* an example, that ye should follow his steps. The A. V. reads: Christ also suffered for *us*, leaving *us* an example, that ye should follow his steps. This confusion in the use of the pronoun is avoided in the reading of the Revised version.

Rev. IV. 6. . . . . four *living creatures* full of eyes before and behind. The Authorized version reads: . . . . four *beasts* full of eyes before and behind.

This was a most unfortunate rendering as it in no way distinguishes these *living creatures* from the *beast* described in chapter xiii. 1, also xiv. 9. The correction as in the R. V. is most desirable.

- XXII. 14. Blessed are they that *wash their robes* that they may have the right (*to come*) to the tree of life. This is an improvement upon the Authorized version which reads: Blessed are they that *do his commandments*.

The force of the Greek article, as is well known, was neglected by King James' translators. They left it out when it had a place in the original text, and they inserted it when it had no such place. The following examples show its restoration by the Revised version.

- |               |   |   |
|---------------|---|---|
| Matt. II. 4.  | . . .   | where <i>the</i> Christ should be born.   |
| IV. 5.        | . . .   | on <i>the</i> pinnacle of the temple.   |
| VII. 24.      | . . .   | which built his house upon <i>the</i> rock.   |
| Luke II. 16.  | . . .   | and the babe lying in <i>the</i> manger.  |
| John XII. 13. | . . .   | took the branches of <i>the</i> palm trees.   |
| Rom. V. 15.   | . . .   | For if by the trespass of <i>the</i> one <i>the</i> many died, much more did the grace of God, and the gift by <i>the</i> grace of <i>the</i> one man, Jesus Christ, abound unto <i>the</i> many. The contrast in this and the following verses of the context, is between <i>the</i> one and <i>the</i> many. <sup>1</sup> |
| Col. I. 19.   | . . .   | that in him should all <i>the</i> fulness dwell.  |
| Heb. XI. 10.  | For he looked for <i>the</i> city which hath <i>the</i> foundations whose builder and maker is God. |   |

The following show its omission where it was wrongly inserted by the Authorized version:

- |                 |   |   |
|-----------------|---|---|
| Matt. XXVII. 4. | . . .   | betrayed innocent blood. The A. V. has: betrayed <i>the</i> innocent blood. |
| Luke III. 14.   | And soldiers also asked him. The A. V. has: And <i>the</i> soldiers likewise demanded of him. |   |

<sup>1</sup> Compare page 349, above.

- John IV. 27. . . . . and they marvelled that he was speaking with *a* woman. The A. V. has: . . . . that he talked with *the* woman. Thereby intimating that they understood her character.
- Acts XVII. 23. . . . . To *an* unknown God. The A. V. has: . . . To *the* unknown God.
- Rom. II. 14. For when Gentiles which have no law do by nature the things of the law. The A. V. has: . . when *the* Gentiles. But the meaning is *any*, not *all* of the Gentiles, as in the reading of the R. V.
- I. Tim. VI. 10. For the love of money is *a* root of all kinds of evil. The A. V. has: *the* root.

The revisers had a broad field before them in correcting the Authorized version in its treatment of Greek prepositions. But in this, as in that of the Greek article, they have not entered upon it as freely as might have been expected. It is true that much of the incorrectness in the Authorized version, in respect to prepositions, is traceable to change of meaning in these prepositions, rather than to error in the translators. But even in cases of archaisms our revisers too frequently fail in making the needful alterations. The following, however, are examples of important improvements:

- Matt. IV. 6. . . . . And *on* their hands they shall bear thee up. The A. V. has: *in* their hands.
- V. 21. Ye have heard that it was said *to* them of old time. This is much better than *by* them as in the A. V.
- Mark XI. 17. . . . . My house shall be called a house of prayer *for all the* nations. The A. V. incorrectly reads: My house shall be called *of all* nations the house of prayer.
- Luke XXIII. 15. No, nor yet Herod: for he sent him back unto us; and behold, nothing worthy of death *hath been* done *by* him. The A. V. incorrectly reads: . . . nothing worthy of death *is* done *unto* him.
- I. Cor. VIII. 6. . . . . and one Lord, Jesus Christ, *through* whom are all things, and we *through* him. The A. V. reads: . . . *by* whom are all things, and we *by* him.

Heb. VI. 7. . . . and bringeth forth herbs meet for them *for whose sake* it is *also* tilled. The A. V. reads: . . . herbs meet for them *by whom* it is dressed.

VII. 9. And, so to say, *through* Abraham even Levi, who receiveth tithes, hath paid tithes. The A. V. has: . . . who receiveth tithes paid tithes *in* Abraham.

Rev. XV. 2. And I saw as it were a glassy sea mingled with fire; and them that come victorious from the beast, . . . standing *by* the glassy sea. The A. V. reads: . . . stand *on* the sea of glass.

Many words in the Authorized version are modern in form, but obsolete in meaning. On account of this they are more hurtful to the sense of the passage, where they occur, since on account of their familiar form they awaken no suspicion of their changed meaning. As examples we have such words as *prevent* in the sense of *precede*, *by* and *by* in the sense of *immediately* and *coast* in the sense of *border*. This class of words is not large, considering that they belong to a printed text that has come down to us, with but few changes, from the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Our revisers have done a most acceptable service in substituting words modern in meaning in place of these obsolete terms; yet too often they allow obsolete words to remain which ought to have been displaced. Nothing is gained by retaining the word *charger* in Matt. xiv. 8. The word may mean *one who charges*, or a *war horse*, but in the sense of a *large dish* or *platter*, as it is used in this connection, it is obsolete. The same may be said of the word *haling* found in Acts viii. 3. If, according to Walker, the word *hale* "is corrupted beyond recovery into *haul*," and consequently the word *haling* into *hauling*, let us by all means have the corruption, with its plain meaning. Another misleading word retained by the revisers is *quick* in the sense of *living*, as found in I. Pet. iv. 5. The word *quick* is good Saxon, and in its primary sense means *life*, *living*, *alive*. But it has lost this sense, and now means *active*, *swift*, *fleet*. This word is likewise retained in Acts x. 42 and in II. Tim. iv. 1, but not in Heb. iv. 12, which reads: For the word of God is *living*

and active, and sharper than any two-edged sword. So again the word *instant* in the sense of *urgent* is retained in the Revised version. II. Tim. iv. 2 reads: . . . be *instant* in season, out of season. In this country at least the word *instant* is used to express something *immediate, quick, without delay*. But in the only place in the New Testament of the Authorized version where the word refers to *time*, as in Luke ii. 38, which reads: And she coming in at that *instant* gave thanks likewise unto the Lord; the revisers ignore the word altogether and read: And coming at that *very hour* she gave thanks unto God. The use of the word, and not the correctness of the translation, is here in question. Let it be said, however, that in Rom. xii. 12, this word *instant* of the A. V. is rightly displaced by *steadfastly*. Other examples of archaisms might be cited wherein the revisers, if they had replaced them by modern terms, would not have gone beyond their rules, nor injured the style of the sacred text. In the examples that follow the changes will be recognized as improvements.

Matt. VI. 34. Be not therefore *anxious* for the morrow: for the morrow will be *anxious* for itself. The A. V. reads: . . . *no thought*, . . . *shall take thought*.

XVII. 25. . . . And when he came into the house, Jesus *spake first to him*. The A. V. reads: . . . Jesus *prevented* him.

Mark VI. 20. Herod feared John . . . and *kept him safe*. The A. V. has: . . . and *observed* him.

Luke I. 63. And he asked for a writing *tablet*. The A. V. has: writing *table*.

VII. 4. And they, when they came to Jesus, besought him *earnestly*. The A. V. has: . . . besought him *instantly*.

XXI. 9. . . . for these things must needs come to pass first; but the end is not *immediately*. The A. V. has: . . . but the end is not *by and by*.

Acts XXI. 15. And after these days we took up our *baggage*. The A. V. has: *carriages*.

Rom. I. 13. . . . I purposed to come unto you (and was *hindered* hitherto). The A. V. has: . . . (but was *let* hitherto).

- I. Cor. X. 24. Let no man seek his own, but (*each*) his neighbour's (*good*). The A. V. has : . . . but every man another's (*wealth*).
- XI. 29. . . . eateth and drinketh *judgement* unto himself, if he discern not the body. The A. V. has : . . . *damnation*.
- II. Cor. VIII. 1. Moreover, brethren, we *make known* to you. The A. V. has : . . . we *do you to wit*.
- Phil. III. 20. For our *citizenship* is in heaven. The A. V. has : For our *conversation* is in heaven.
- IV. 8. Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are *honourable*. The A. V. has : *honest*.
- I. Thess. IV. 15. . . . shall in no wise *precede* them that are fallen asleep. The A. V. has : *prevent*.
- I. Tim. II. 9. In like manner, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with *shamefastness* and sobriety. This word *shamefastness* belonged to the first edition of the Authorized version, but by a typographical blunder was changed into *shamefacedness* as in our present Bibles, a word opposite in meaning from *shamefastness*. The word is now obsolete and its Saxon meaning is gone beyond recovery, and why the revisers sought to restore it is difficult to understand.
- V. 4. . . . But if any widow hath children or *grandchildren*. The A. V. has : or *nephews*.

The second rule, laid down for the guidance of the revisers, required that when changes were necessary the phrasing should be conformed, as far as practicable, to the language and style of the Authorized version. In their preface the revisers claim to "have faithfully adhered" to this rule. The difficulty of the task may well excuse a few exceptions. And yet a little more of the inborn love of Saxon simplicity in language might have saved them from such words as : *stupor, clanging, narrative, interrogation, accurately, announce, attendant, apparition, factious, effulgence, tranquil, vauntings, probation*, some of which are not found in Shakespeare, whatever may be said of other "standard writers" of the date of the Authorized version. To the above must be added a long list of other new



words which may or may not displace words and phrases more appropriate to the "language of Canaan." But however unfortunate the revisers may have been in introducing a few Latinized words, yet in theory and practice they reaffirm the Saxon element of our language. While it is difficult to establish a literal connection running back from the Authorized version through Tyndale to Wycliffe, yet such connection now is fully established in the Revised version. The revisers say in their preface: "We have habitually consulted the earlier Versions; and in our sparing introduction of words not found in them or in the Authorized Version, we have usually satisfied ourselves that such words were employed by standard writers of nearly the same date, and had also that general hue which justified their introduction into a Version which has held the highest place in the classical literature of our language." The following list furnishes specimens of the new words found in the Revised version intentionally introduced for the sake of bettering the translation. Some of these words were adopted from the Old Testament, others professedly from earlier versions, while others are entire strangers to our New Testament vocabulary. The new words are in italics and may be found below in their respective connections.

Matt. VI. 28. And why *are ye anxious*. The A. V. has: *take ye thought*.

IX. 17. Neither do (*men*) put new wine into old *wine skins*.  
The A. V. has: *bottles*.

XIV. 26. . . . It is an *apparition*. The A. V. has:  
*spirit*.

XVII. 15. For he is *epileptic*. The A. V. has: *lunatick*.

Mark II. 21. . . . a piece of *undressed* cloth on an old garment. This is after the Genevan version, 1557.  
The A. V. has: *new* cloth.

VI. 53. . . . and *moored* to the shore. The A. V.  
has: *drew* to the shore.

Luke I. 1. . . . to *draw up*, in the sense of *to write*; also, *narrative*. The A. V. has: . . . *to set forth*; and, *declaration*.

3. . . . having traced the course of all things accurately. The A. V. reads: . . perfect understanding of all things from the very first.
- IV. 20. . . . and gave it back to the attendant. This is better than, *minister* of the A. V. which from its modern restricted sense gives a wrong impression. But the word *attendant* scarcely expresses the official character of the "keeper of the rolls" of the synagogue.
- V. 27. . . . sitting at the *place of toll*. The A. V. has: . . the *receipt of custom*.
- John X. 12. . . . and the wolf *snatcheth* them. The A. V. has: *catcheth* them.
- XVII. 12. . . . guarded them. The A. V. has: *kept*.
- Acts VII. 13. . . . and Joseph's *race* became manifest unto Pharaoh. The A. V. has: *kindred*.
- XII. 7. . . . and a light shined in the *cell*. The A. V. has: *prison*.
- XIV. 5. . . . there was made an *onset*. The A. V. has: an *assault*.
- XVIII. 14. . . . or of wicked *villany*. The A. V. has: wicked *lewdness*.
- XXII. 28. . . . With a great sum obtained I this *citizenship*. The A. V. has: this *freedom*.
- XXV. 21. But when Paul had appealed to be kept for the decision of the *emperor*. The A. V. has: *Augustus*.
- XXVI. 10. . . . I gave my *vote*. The A. V. reads: I gave my *voice* against them.
- XXVII. 17. . . . fearing lest they should be cast upon the *Syrtis*, they lowered the *gear*, and so were driven. There were two celebrated syrtes on the coast of Africa. One was called Syrtis major and the other Syrtis minor. They are described as "sand banks or shoals dangerous to navigation." The A. V. reads: . . fearing lest they should fall into the *quicksands*. Tyndale, the Great Bible and the Genevan version read: *Syrtes*.
18. . . . they began to throw (*the freight*) overboard. The A. V. reads: . . they *lightened the ship*.
89. . . . a certain bay with a *beach*. The A. V. has: *shore*.

40. . . . and hoisting up the *foresail*. The A. V. has: *mainsail*.
- Rom. II. 8. . . . unto them that are *factionous*. The A. V. has: *contentious*.
- V. 4. And patience *probation*; and *probation* hope.
- X. 7. . . . into the *abyss*. The A. V. has: the *deep*.
- XI. 8. . . . a spirit of *stupor*. The A. V. has: . . . of *slumber*.
- I. Cor. IX. 25. . . . that striveth in the *games*. The A. V. has: . . . for the *mystery*.
- XIII. 1. . . . sounding brass, or a *clanging* cymbal. The A. V. has: . . . or a *tinkling* cymbal.
- II. Cor. I. 17. . . . did I shew *fickleness*. The A. V. has: *lightness*.
- Gal. VI. 17. . . . for I bear *branded* on my body. The A. V. reads: . . . for I bear in my body.
- Phil. III. 1. . . . to me indeed is not *irksome*. The A. V. has: . . . is not *grievous*.
14. I press on toward the *goal*. The A. V. has: . . . the *mark*.
- I. Tim. II. 2. . . . may lead a *tranquil* and quiet life. The A. V. has: *peaceable*.
- Heb. I. 3. Who being the *effulgence* of his glory. The A. V. reads: . . . the *brightness* of his glory.
- XII. 2. . . . the author and *perfector* of our faith. The A. V. has: *finisher*.
- James I. 23. . . . beholding his natural face in a *mirror*. This after Wycliffe. The A. V. has: a *glass*.
- II. 19. . . . the devils also believe, and *shudder*. The A. V. has: *tremble*.
- IV. 16. . . . ye glory in your *vauntings*. The A. V. has: *boastings*.
- I. Peter III. 21. . . . but the *interrogation* of a good conscience toward God. The A. V. has: . . . the *answer* of a good conscience.
- I. John I. 5. . . . and *announce* unto you. The A. V. has: *declare*.
- Rev. XVI. 1. . . . and pour out the seven *bowls* of the wrath of God. The A. V. has: *vials*.
- XVIII. 17. . . . and *mariners*. This word after Wycliffe. The A. V. has: *sailors*.

The above list might be greatly increased, as the number of this class of words is from necessity large. It is a familiar fact that King James' translators felt constrained to adopt a variety of words in translating single Greek terms. They doubtless carried this feature of their work to an extreme. The present revisers, at the expense of variety in style, and for the sake of faithfulness to the Greek, have rendered the recurring Greek word by the same English word. Consequently many English words have dropped out of the New Testament vocabulary. Whether the new words introduced into the Revised version, such as the above, will counter-balance this loss, there is as yet no means of determining.<sup>1</sup>

The appendix comprises the suggestions of the American committee which were not approved by the English committee. It manifests a disagreement which was not expected by the friends of the work on this side of the water. From the rules laid down it was expected that something of an equality would exist, and at the close a joint meeting of the British and American companies would be held in London before final action. But unfortunately, or it may be fortunately, this meeting proved impracticable; and instead, a compromise was agreed upon by which the readings preferred by the American committee were to be printed in an appendix to the English edition, the American committee agreeing not to issue a rival edition for "a term of fourteen years." But, as has been well said, while the appendix shows the disagreements, yet it signifies but little compared with the text, which embodies the substantial agreements of the two committees. By actual comparison of their independent work it has been found "that in about half the changes the two committees had arrived independently at the same conclusion." Whatever of jealousy, therefore, may have been felt by American friends of the enterprise on this ground, should be laid

<sup>1</sup> There is a Concordance, however, of the Revised version already in course of preparation.

aside; and especially so since the members themselves of the American committee are satisfied. Besides, conservative opposers of the New revision ought to be contented, since the American revisers were by far more radical and progressive in the changes they proposed than their brethren of the English committee. The following are selected examples of the changes preferred by the American committee, which fall in the appendix under the general head of "Classes of Passages":

- I. Strike out "S." (i. e. Saint) from the title of the Gospels and from the heading of the pages.
- III. For "Holy Ghost" adopt uniformly the rendering "Holy Spirit."
- IV. At the word "worship" in Matt. ii. 2, etc., add the marginal note "The Greek word denotes an act of reverence, whether paid to man (see chap. xviii. 26) or to God (see chap. iv. 10)."
- V. Put into the text uniformly the marginal rendering "through" in place of "by" when it relates to prophecy, viz. in Matt. ii. 5, 17, 23: iii. 3; iv. 14, &c.
- VII. Substitute modern forms of speech for the following archaisms, viz. "who" or "that" for "which" when used of persons; "are" for "be" in the present indicative; "know," "knew" for "wot" "wist"; "drag" or "drag away" for "hale."
- IX. After "baptize" let the marg. "Or, *in*" and the text "with" exchange places.
- X. Let the word "testament" be everywhere changed to "covenant" (without an alternate in the margin), except in Heb. ix. 15-17.
- XIV. Let the use of "fulfil" be confined to those cases in which it denotes "accomplish," "bring to pass," or the like.

In the Gospel according to Matthew the appendix furnishes some twenty-three preferences which were not adopted by the English committee. The following are selected examples:

- Matt. III. 10. For "is the axe laid unto" read "the axe lieth at" So in Luke iii. 9.
- VI. 11. Let the marg. read Gr. *our bread for the coming day, or our needful bread.* So in Luke xi. 3.
- 27. For "his stature" read "the measure of his life" (with marg. Or, *his stature*) So in Luke xii. 25.
- IX. 6, 8. For "power" read "authority" (see marg. <sup>3</sup>) So in Mark ii. 10; Luke v. 24.

- XX. 1. For "that is" read "that was"
- XXIII. 9. For "Father, which is in heaven" read "Father, *even* he who is in heaven."
23. For "judgement" read "justice" So in Luke xi. 42.
- XXVI. 29. For "I will not drink" read "I shall not drink" Similarly in Mark xiv. 25; Luke xxii. 16, 18.

In the Gospel according to Mark the appendix has but seven preferences not approved by the English committee. The following are selected examples:

- Mark X. 13. For "bought" read "were bringing" So in Luke xviii. 15.
32. "And they that followed" etc., omit the marg.
45. For "For verily" etc. read "For the Son of man also" etc.
- XI. 24. For "have received" read "receive" with marg. Gr. *received*.

The Gospel of Luke has thirty-three and the Gospel of John twenty-three of these preferences; so throughout the New Testament some books have more and some less. The following selections, however, will suffice:

- Luke I. 70. For "since the world began" read "of old" Similarly Acts iii. 21; xv. 18.
- IV. 1. For "by the Spirit" read "in the Spirit" and omit the marg.
- VIII. 29. For "commanded" read "was commanding"
33. For "were choked" read "were drowned"
- IX. 46. For "should be greatest" read "was the greatest"
- XXII. 24. For "is accounted" read "was accounted"
- XXIII. 2. "Christ a king" omit the marg.
23. For "instant" read "urgent"
46. Let margin and text exchange places.
- XXIV. 30. Read "he took the bread and blessed; and breaking it he gave to them"
38. For "reasonings" read "questionings"
- John II. 17. For "The zeal of thine house" read "Zeal for thy house"
- III. 20. For "ill" read "evil" So in v. 29.
- VII. 38. For "out of the belly" read "from within him" (with marg. Gr. *out of his belly*.)
- VIII. 44. For "stood" read "standeth" and omit marg. <sup>2</sup>
- 52, 53. For "is dead" and "are dead" read "died" [Compare vi. 49, 58.]

58. For "was" read "was born" and omit marg. <sup>6</sup>

XVI. 25, 29 For "proverbs" read "dark sayings"

XVII. 24. For "I will" read "I desire"

XXI. 7. "Was naked" add marg. Or, *had on his under garment only.*

In the above selections and so throughout the whole appendix, the changes proposed will for the most part commend themselves to American taste and judgment. And while there may be a regret that there should have been any differences at the last, yet there is occasion for rejoicing that the appendix is not more extensive than it is; especially when we consider that the committees were composed of independent thinkers, separated by so many thousand miles and influenced by distinct National tastes. Besides, a careful examination of the appendix shows that the differences relate to neither doctrine nor precept, but touch upon archaisms, obsolete words, Greek grammar and simple matters of taste and style. The Revised version, therefore, must ever be regarded as a monument sacred to the memory of a united Christian scholarship. And the Appendix must ever be looked upon, not as a symbol of disagreement, but as a remarkable illustration of the high degree of harmony which prevailed between the **ANGLO-AMERICAN REVISERS.**

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